ANCIENT INDIA

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by UPENDRA NATH BALL

Preface to the First Edition

The object of writing the book is to provide a suitable compendium for the University students. The literature on Ancient India is gradually growing in volume, and it is difficult for the college students to get at the numerous publications. The books which are generally recommended as text-books are full of nice discussions on technicalities. In some books again we find a lack of the proper appreciation of the spirit of the Indian people and a representation of the past of India in a defective perspective. An attempt has been made in this book to write a brief history embodying the recent researches in as plain a language as possible, and to interpret the spirit of India in the way in which the Indians understand it.

The period covered in the book is from the early times to the Mahomedan conquest. There is a continuity of spirit throughout the period. During this period of Indian autonomy and free government the Indians assimilated foreign cultures which were brought upon them by the successive invasions from outside, or which they came across in the course of their expansion or religious propaganda. The foreign settlers in India also became Indianised in manners and customs. The Mahomedan invaders came to India to spread Islam and to sweep away the old institutions of the country. In this circumstance of conflicting civilizations the Indians tried to reorganise their religion and culture in order to save them from total absorption in a foreign civilization. Thus arose a distinct cleavage between the two cultures and since then the national life has become more complicated.

I beg to acknowledge my debt to all the authors from whom I have derived materials. I have avoided controversy as far as possible, and where I have differed from the well-known authors I have stated my case frankly and mentioned the reasons for which I could not accept the ordinary view.

The treatise is meant only as a ground-work, and I hope it will stimulate the curiosity of the readers to go further afield in search of the rich gems of the past history of India and to explore the hitherto unknown regions.

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ANCIENT INDIA.

CHAPTER I.

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES.

Name.—The river Indus has given its name to the vast country lying to its east. The foreign invaders from Persia, Greece and China could not proceed very far from the basin of the mighty river, and they called the country the land of the Indus or India. The Greek historian Herodotus and the historians who came with Alexander used this name, and subsequently the name of the best known country has been applied to the whole country.

In the Sanskrit epics the country is called Bharat-varsha from an old Aryan tribe of the name of the Bharatas. The older name of the country is Jambu-dwipa.

Boundary.—The country is cut off by nature from the rest of the world. It is protected by the high mountains on the north-west, north and north-east; and on other sides it is washed by the broad oceans. In the ancient times the seas were a formidable barrier against the invasions of foreigners. There was no country in the east or west which had a sufficiently strong fleet to undertake the conquest of India; and the Arabian Sea or the Bay of Bengal was not very easy to cross. Vessels from Egypt or Mesopotamia, from China or Java could come with favourable winds along the coast. It was

by means of these crafts that trade with foreign countries was carried on, but the idea of conquest could not be conceived.

There were some passes through the mountains which allowed the invasions of foreigners. It is believed that these passes were not impregnable in the remote past. Moreover, geological evidence goes to say that at one time the country to the west of the Aravalli range was under water, and probably India was connected with Africa by land. Volcanic cataclysms and strong upheavals have brought the country to its present shape. These earth-movements are still working. The rivers which connected India with Afghanistan and the western countries in the historic period have dried up, and the mountains are raising their heads still higher.

The gates of India.—The beds of the old rivers form the main gateways of India. The most important gorge through which foreign invasions came into India is the Khyber Pass, from Kabul down the valley of the Kabul river to Peshawar. Other gates on the noth-west are the Gomal Pass between Afghanistan and Dera Ismail Khan, the Kuram through which the river Kuram flows from Afghanistan into the Bannu district, and the Bolan Pass between Shikarpur in Sindh and Kandahar. The fort of Quetta protects the last. If any invader comes from Turkistan *via* Herat the Bolan Pass will be very convenient for him to follow. There are some Passes across the Himalayas which connect the table-land of Tibet with India. But on account of their high altitude they are not of great political importance. In ancient times some immigrations might have come through them, and at the present time they are the only routes for the purpose of trade between India and Tibet.

These Passes are divided into three groups, viz., the Shipki group along the Sutlej, the Almora group and the Sikkim group. The Brahmaputra valley allowed large immigrations in the north-east. This was the route along which the Mongolian tribes came into India, and even now geographers think that it may be recognised as one of the world's highways.

The sea coast.—The coast lines contain a number of harbours on both sides. The west coast harbours are better situated and from ancient times trade between Egypt and India passed through these harbours. But commodities from the interior of the country could not be conveniently brought to these places on account of the difficulty of transportation. Baruguza or Broach was the most important port which was connected with the interior by the Narmada, and the pilgrim route to Prayag, and Mathura. The east coast is shallow, and there was little foreign trade along this coast. But boats used to ply from one port to another, and there was trade connection along this coast from the mouth of the Ganges down to Ceylon. This route is therefore of great importance in the history of ancient India as it indicates the march of culture from one part of the country to another. From Tamralipti to Ceylon it was a voyage of two weeks.

The interior of India.—The mainland consists of a number of natural divisions created by rivers and mountains. The Indus valley is watered by the Indus and its tributaries, and extend from Kashmir to the Sea and from the Sulaiman to the Jumna. It was known to the Aryans as the land of the Sapta Sindhu, and it was here that they developed their Vedic culture. This province stands in a peculiar position as all the foreign

invasions from the north-west passed through it, and almost all the foreign settlements in India were first planted in the Punjab. To the south-east of this province lies the great Thar or Rajputana desert. It extends up to the Aravalli Range. The States of Jodhpur and Bikanir have grown on the oases of these sandy plains.

At the bend of the Himalayas known as the Siwalik Range the two most important rivers of India, the Ganges and the Jumna, have their rise. The Jumna has mixed her waters with the Ganges at Prayag, and the combined stream has fallen into the Bay of Bengal after traversing more than 600 miles. A number of tributaries such as Ghogra, Rapti, Gandak from the Himalayas have fallen into the Ganges. In the lower portion before falling into the Bay it has been joined by the Brahmaputra from the north-east. The basins of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra are the most fertile parts of India. The lower division forming the delta of the two rivers and their doab are most thickly populated and they have been very prosperous from ths ancient times. The Ganges is the most sacred river of the Hindus. "No river on the surface of the globe can compare with the Ganges in sanctity. From her source to her outflow in the Bay of Bengal every yard of the river is sacred. To bathe in the Ganges at stated intervals is to wash away sin; to die and be cremated on the river bank is to attain eternal peace; even to ejaculate the name 'Ganga' when afar from her banks is sufficient to atone for the misdeeds of several previous stages of human existence" says Mr. T. H. Holdich. The total length of the Ganges is about 1,550 miles. A large number of the great cities in Northern India have grown on the banks of the Jumna and the

Ganges. Delhi, Mathura and Agra stand on the Jumna; while Kanauj, Benares and Pataliputra stand on the Ganges. Prayag stands at the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. These rivers are navigable almost up to the foot of the mountains, and troops and trade could easily be carried by boats on them. The homogeneity of culture in Northern India is greatly due to these rivers. The history of the provinces watered by them is interconnected. The lower division of Bengal east of the Bhagirathi lies at a great distance from the north-west frontier. The invaders became exhausted after coming to the middle country and we therefore do not find much disturbance in the life of Bengal. In the Mahomedan period the Muslim Governors under the early Delhi Sultans conquered the province, and they enjoyed autonomy and became independent on account of the distance.

Delhi occupies a unique position. It stands on the Jumna, and below it lies the great desert. The invaders from the north-west must therefore pass through Delhi. It is the key to the Aryavarta or Madhyadesa. The master of Delhi could protect the frontiers as well as he could command the vast plains to the east. So the master of Delhi could be the master of India. It is on account of its strategic position that Delhi was selected as the capital of Northern India by the Pathan rulers.

Mathura was a seat of the Saka satraps and before that of Hindu Kings. Agra was the royal residence of the Mughal emperors, Kanauj was the capital of the Hindu kings in ancient times. The most important king of Kanauj being Harshavardhan. Pataliputra was the capital of the Mauryas, the Kanvas, and of the Guptas. In recent

times Calcutta, the early capital of British India, stands on the Ganges.

The country lying between the Jumna, the Aravalli Range, and the Satpura hills presents certain special features. It is mainly hilly. The Vindhya hills run through these tracts. The Chambal and its tributaries water the land between the Aravalli and the Vindhyas. The Rajput states lie in this region. The mountains made the forts impregnable, and the Rajput clans could defend themselves against foreign invasions without much difficulty. The region south of the Vindhyas down to the Narmada and the Satpura is almost of the same nature. The Vindhyas, the Satpura, the rivers Narmada and the Tapti, and the Dandak forest towards the mouth of these rivers were great barriers against invasions from the north into the south. But the hills are not very high. There are good roads in some places, and the rivers are fordable. They have therefore not been able to resist invasions of strong men from the north. In later times too the people of the south spread their powers up to the Sutlej.

The Peninsula proper from the Satpura southwards is known as the Deccan. A chain of mountains, called the Western Ghats, has run along the western coast. The Konkan is the strip of land between the Ghats and the Sea. There is also a similar chain along the east coast, but it is not so high. The plateau between the two Ghats is watered by the rivers Godavari, Krishna and Caveri. It is very fertile and was very prosperous in the ancient times. The wealth of the south is proverbial. Its large quantity of gold and jewels attracted the Mahomedan rulers of the North. The natural barriers

however stood in the way of the consolidation of the country.

The Himalayas.—The Himalayas stand as a separate unit. The chain of mountains between the bends of the Indus and the Brahmaputra is called by the geographers the Himalayas. It separates India from Tibet. Mount Everest is the highest peak of the world, measuring 29,002 feet. Kinchin Jungha beats all others in the grandeur of beauty. There is no mountain chain in the world so grand and sublime as the Siwalik Range. During winter the tops of the Himalayas remain covered over with ice, and with the coming of the summer when it is melted, the rivers become full. Very little is known about these vast regions. On the southern incline lie the kingdoms of Kashmir, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. Buddha was born in the Nepal Terai and he died there. In the modern times the British Government has chosen some places on the Himalayas for summer residences of the Governors. But the Terai region is almost insanitary.

It is believed that a horde of Aryans entered by the Sutlej valley or by the valleys of the Almora group and proceeded along the foot of the mountains to the Madhyadesa. This theory is in agreement with the Puranic legends, which hold Kailas as the abode of the gods. The Himalayas therefore is considered very sacred by the Hindus.

The border Lands.—To the north of India stands the great tableland called the Pamirs. It is popularly known as the roof of the world, as such a broad and high tableland is not found anywhere else in the world. Here "the drainage areas of the three great river systems of the Indus, the Oxus, and the Tarim meet, the representatives

as it were of the still greater ethnic areas of India, Iran and Turkestan." Beyond the Pamirs lie the great Central Asian plains which were at one time very prosperous. The region between the Aral, the Caspian, and the Pamirs is supposed to be the cradle of the Aryan civilization. To the east of the Pamirs lie the tableland of Tibet, the country of the mysterious Lamas, and China, the Celestial Empire. The Hindukush is practically a continuation of the great mountain range round about the Pamirs. It was called by the Greeks Olympus, and some of the most important events of the Indian history are connected with this region. It formed a part of Ancient India, and since 1648 it has been permanently separated from India as a political unit. The Aryans from Central Asia dwelt for a long time in this tract and this was the parting place of the Iranians and the Indo-Aryans. The Greeks settled here for about three centuries. In later times most of the Mahomedan invasions into India came from the hilly countries of the Hindukush. The sturdy races of the mountainous regions on the north-west found it an easy affair to conquer and exploit the peaceful people in the plains of India.

The hills and forests on the east have cut off Burma from the mainland. Burma had very little political relations with India except in recent times.

Political importance of Geogr .—India thus presents all the features of a vast continent. It extends from the tropics to the temperate zone, and from the Sulaiman to the borders of Burma it is about 1,750 miles. The coast line measures 3,400 miles. On account of its vastness of extent and the difficulty of communication from one part to another it was not possible to maintain its political unity. At times powerful monarchs

subjugated the territories on all sides but as soon as they died their empires fell into pieces. On account of the broad natural divisions there arose a number of states sometimes much larger than many of the modern states of Europe. One of the problems of these states was the maintenance of their integrity, and this problem has not yet been solved in Europe and other parts of the world.

The existence of these small states was an advantage in a way, because no foreign conqueror could become master of the country by defeating one or two rulers. Darius, Alexander, the Sakas, the Hunas, none of these could conquer the whole of the vast territory, nor even the Mahomedans in the later times.

Unity—In spite of the broad political divisions we find the growth of one civilization throughout India. Aryan culture has spread from the north to the south, and from the west to the east. Rivers of the north as well as of the south are sacred to the Hindus. Rameshwaram is as much a place of sanctity as Hardwar. The people throughout the country hold in reverence the same scriptures. The caste system in its four broad divisions is in existence all over India. The foreign invaders were merged in the vast population of the country. Even the Pathans and the Mughals were gradually assimilating Hindus culture. The difference in culture of the foreign invaders has given rise to a number of complicated problems of great importance. If the old conditions had existed, and if the culture of the conquerors had been less virile than that of the people then most probably they could have been assimilated, and India would have been the land of one nation with a common culture, common ideal ond common aspiration. In spite of the disturbing factors in modern times the

civilization of India displays not only an originality but also a continuity which has scarcely a parallel elsewhere in the globe. India has assimilated foreign culture and what she has received she has presented to the world in her own away. It is on account of this characteristic that the Indian civilization has not been swept away by foreign culture. It may be very safely said that India owes this mainly to her physical conditions.

CHAPTER II.

THE SOURCES OF HISTORY.

Materials for a connected history.—"The date for the reconstruction of the early history of all nations are necessarily meagre," says V. A.- Smith, "largely consisting of bare lists of names supplemented by vague and often contradictory traditions which pass invisibly into popular mythology. The historian of ancient India is fairly well provided with a supply of such lists, traditions, and mythology; which of course, require to be treated on the strict critical principles applied by modern students to early histories of both western and eastern nations. The application of those principles in the case of India is not more difficult than it is in Babylonia, Egypt, Greece or Rome." Modern researches have brought to light vast materials for a connected history of Ancient India. In 1784 Sir William Jones founded the Asiatic Society of Bengal. Since then a number of scholars devoted themselves to the study of the ancient literature of India, and of her coins, inscriptions and archœological remains. Their labours have borne immense fruits, and we have now a fair idea of the progress of civilizations in India from the advent of the Aryans. The Indian literatures have been carefully studied. The inscriptions have been deciphered and examined, the archæological remains have been thoroughly surveyed, and the accounts of the foreign writers have been analysed. It cannot, however, be said that the work is finished

and that no more research is necessay. The field is vast and there is yet a great deal to be done in all the various lines of research connected with the past of India.

The sources of the early history of India may be divided into three broad classes, *viz.*,—(1) Literary, (2) Archæological, and (3) Epigraphic.

1. Literary Sources.—The literary sources are numerous, but there is scarcely any book in ancient Indian literature which can be said to be strictly historical. In Kautilya's Arthasastra Itihasa forms a subject of study by a Prince.

पुराणमितिवृत्तमाख्यायिकोदाहरणं धर्म्मशास्त्रमर्थशास्त्रं चेतिहासः ।

Purana, Itivritta (history), Akhyaika (tales), Udaharaṇa (illustrative stories), Dharmasastra, and Arthasastra are (known by the name) Itihasa. History in this sense is a comprehensive thing. But one does not find in it a correct narrative of events in the time order. The Vamsavalis or the dynastic lists in the Puranas are of historical value, and they have been considered to contain much genuine and valuable historical tradition. But the information available is meagre and the details discrepant. They have to be corroborated by other more reliable evidences. The Bhavisya Purana gives a list of kings from the Kurukshetra war to the Andhras (260-1 A. D.). Other Puranas such as Matsya, Vayu, and Brahmanda borrowed the version of the Bhavisya. The Vayu comes up to the Gupta period (325-30 A. D.). The Puranic accounts begin with the commencement of the Kali Age.

We have to find other sources for information before the Puranic Age. The two great epics, the Mahabhararata and the Ramayana, do not claim to be history.

But it has been held by scholars that parts of the Mahabharata were composed about 1000 B. C. and the book received its final shape in about 500 A. D. The episodes described in the Mahabharata are probably based upon some historical events. The story of the Ramayana is one of such episodes. The Mahabharata deals with the life of the Aryans in the Kuru-Panchala land and the Gangetic valley, and the Ramayana describes the march of Aryan civilization from Northern India] into the South down to Ceylon. These two books form a valuable source of information, regarding the polity of the Aryans.

The Vedas and other Vedic literature give us some idea about the social conditions of the early Aryan settlers in India before the epic period. They contain a description of the country in which they lived, and the gods they worshipped. They are the earliest literary records of man's manners and custums.* The late Mr. Tilak would put the Vedic accounts at about 4500 B. C. The European scholars consider 1200 B. C. as the latest date of the composition of the Vedas. If we accept Mr. Tilak's view then we have records of the social, political, moral and intellectual life of the Indians from 4500 B.C. In any case 3000 B. C. will not be far from the truth,

The Buddhist and the Jaina literatures are of greater importance than the Sanskrit literature as in some cases the dates of their composition can be approximately calculated. The birth stories of the Buddhas contained in the Jatakas throw a flood of light on the condition of India in the sixth and fifth centnries before Christ. Later Buddhistic chronicles such as Dipavamsa and Mahavamsa contain much historical information.

In the domain of pure historical literature we have

scarcely any. Bana's *Harsha Charita* is an historical romance containing an account of Harshavardhana of Kanauj (606—48 A. D.). The book is valuable as it provides some important data for literary and political chronology.

The *Vikramankadeva Charita*, of Bilhana is another historical romance dealing with the life of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya VI of Kalyani (1076-1126 A. D.). Neither in the book of Bana nor in that of Bilhana there is any mention of date, for which we have to depend upon other sources.

The only Sanskrit work claiming a directly historical character is the *Rajatarangini*, a chronicle of the kings of Kashmir, written by Kalhana in 1148 A. D. But the narrative of the book is lengendary till the author approaches his own times.

Other literary works, such as poems and dramas, give indirect help in constructing a history of ancient India. A good deal of information has been obtained from a comparative study of the languages, specially in the field of mythology and religion. The history of a word is the history of the development of cultures and civilizations. Comparative Philology has discovered relations between the civilizations of India, Persia and Europe.

Besides the indigenous literature of India the foreign accounts are a valuable source of information. These foreign accounts have cleared many an obscure passage. The dates of these works are known, and with their help the Indian charonology has been properly arranged. The writings of the Greek writers Herodotus, Ktesias, Megasthenes and the historians who came with Alexander are of surpassing interest. Herodotus wrote in the fifth century before the birth of Christ. He gives an

account of the relations between India and Persia. The fragments of Magasthenes contribute detailed information about the administration of Chandragupta Maurya. The Chinese historian Ssu-ma-ch'-ien wrote a history in about 100 B. C. His book is specially valuable for its accurate chronology regarding the early annals of India. The writings of the Greeks and the Romans in the early centuries of the Christian era supply also materials for a history of ancient India.

But the Chinese travellers Fa-Hien and Hiuen Tsang have left records which have been of great help in reconstructing the history of India. Fa-Hien visited India between A. D. 399 and 414 and Hiuen Tsang between A. D. 629 and 645. Fa-Hien gives valuable information regarding the times of Chandragupta II, and Hiuen Tsang that of Harshavardhana. Their accounts are specially full with reference to the places connected with the life of Buddha.

Of all other foreign visitors Alberuni stands out prominently. His book is an authentic narrative of Hindu manners, science and literature down to the invasion of Mahomedans. It was completed in 1030 A. D.

II **Archaeology.**—We have not written records for all the stages in the history of man. The gaps have been filled up by archæological researches "Knowledge of the condition of mankind in the dim ages of the past which lie beyond the ken of history or tradition is attainable only by scientific interpretation of the scanty material relics of human workmanship—the tools, weapons, tombs and pottery which survive from those remote times" says V. A. Smith. The successive stages of civilization can be distinguished by noting the degrees of progress

in the art of using metals. Thus the prehistoric period has been divided into the the Old Stone Age, the New Stone Age, the Bronze Age, and the Iron Age by a a study of the implements used.

The students of archæology have not only examined the relics of the old implements, they have also carefully studied the arts and architecture of the people. These old relics have been very useful in tracing the growth of human civilization where literary evidence is lacking. Man's handiworks have stood forth as the dumb memorial of his life and activities. The remains found at Harappa and Mohenjo--daro, the old buildings of Takshasila, Giribraja and Pataliputra, the Stupas at Piprahwa, Bharhut and Sanchi, the monolithic columns at Lauriya-Nandangarh, Rummindei and Sarnath, the paintings in the Ajanta caves, the temples of Mathura, the sculpture found in the North-West frontiers and many other remains of this kind have supplied many a missing link. Some of the complex problems of chronology have been solved with the help of the archæological finds. The most important illustration is the chronology of the Kushan period arranged with the help of the finds at Takshasila. The style of architecture and scuplture and the materials used in them are witnesses of the influence of the different civilizations upon each other. The earliest Indian building discovered is the *stupa* at Piprahwa on the Nepal frontier. It is assigned to 450 B. C. The stone walls of Giribraja are the oldest extant stone buildings in India. They are the remains of about 600 B. C. But the remains of the New Stone Age are not very rare. They go back as far as 2000 B. C. Some remains of the still remote Old Stone Age have been discovered in the

Narmada and the Godavari valleys. The gaps between the Old Stone Age and the New Stone Age and the historic period have not been sufficiently surveyed, and the story of the origin of Indian civilization is still shrouded in darkness. The discoveries made in the Indus valley carry the history of India 3000 years before the birth of Christ.

III. Epigraphy.—The most important sources of early Indian history are the inscriptions on stone, rocks, seals, metals and coins. These inscriptions were not intelligible to the people three generations ago, as they were in unknown characters. The bilingual coins struck by the Greek princes provided a clue to the decipherment of the old alphabets. These alphabets are of two kinds, *viz.*, Brahmi and Kharoshthi. Brahmi has been shown to be the parent of all the modern alphabets of India. Probably it is derived from Phoenician writing brought into India through Mesopotamia by merchants. Kharoshthi is a variety of Aramaic script and was in use in Western Asia in 500 B. C. It disappeared from India in 800 A. D. Sir M. Auriel Stein discovered some Kharoshthi manuscripts in Khotan. A large number of the inscriptions have been found in the different parts of India. A patient examination of these inscriptions have enriched our knowledge of the ancient political history of India. They have helped in finding dates and in identifying names. Such inscriptions are long enough to give us an idea of the social and political condition of the people.

The edicts of Asoka were engraved upon rocks and pillars. They are scattered from the Yusufzai territory to the borders of Mysore, from Guzerat to Orissa.

These edicts were the injunctions issued by Asoka. No other monarch followed the example of Asoka. So his edicts stand as a class by themselves. Most of the inscriptions are commemorative, dedicatory or donative. They have been engraved on stone slabs, or copper plates, or seals of various types. The history of the Gupta period has been written with the help of inscriptions. The inscriptions found in Southern India are of comparatively later times. For the period before the Christian era more documents are found in Northern India than in the South. The oldest document is the inscription on the Piprahwa vase assigned to about 450 B. C.

Indian Chronology.—The dates mentioned in the inscriptions are not of the same era. Different monarchs started different eras. It is therefere difficult to say from the year in an inscription to which era it refers. In solving the chronological problems references in contemporary literature of foreign countries have been greatly useful. The identification of Chandragupta with Sandrakotos of the Greek writers was the first point attained in fixing the time order. The reference to Antiochos Theos and other Greek princes in an edict of Asoka still further determined the chronology of the Manrya kings. Dr. Fleet succeeded in pointing out the starting year of the Gupta period at 319-20. M. Sylvain Levi discovered that Meghvarna of Ceylon was a contemporary of Samudragupta and thus the chronology of the Guptas has been finally settled. The recent discoveries at Taxila have solved the chronological problems of the Kushan period. So we we have now an almost accurate chronological table starting with the time of Buddha.

CHAPTER III.

PREHISTORIC INDIA.

Epochs of Civilization.—"Human races of earlier times," writes B. G. Tilak, "have left ample evidence of their existence on the surface of this globe." Innumerable implements have been unearthed, and they have been utilised by the archæologists in reading the history of man in his primitive life. After a careful study of these remains they have divided human civilization into different stages according to the metals used. First, is the Paleolithic or Old Stone Age, when man used chipped stone implements, rude in form. Remains of extinct animals are associated with this period. Second, Neolithic or New Stone Age, when man had made some progress in the use of his implements. They are generally of ground or polished stone. Man has begun to use pottery, and the fauna connected with the implements are still to be found. The dead received a burial and the tombs were frequently of massive stones. There is a great gulf between the Paleolithic and the Neolithic Ages. But the Neolithic Age passes imperceptibly into the Bronze Age when man has learnt the use of metals. This is the third stage in the evolution of culture. The final stage is that of Iron. In some cases the transition from one stage to another is abrupt. In India the traces of a Bronze Age are not so conspicuous. Implements of pure copper have been found in some parts. Here people passed directly from polished stone to iron.

Paleolithic Men.—The chipped stone instruments discovered in the neighbourhood of Madras and the Narmada and Godavari valleys are the remains of the oldest inhabitants of India. The skulls and bones of these men have not been found. They made no pottery and built no tombs. They might have used sticks, stones and bones in getting their food by hunting wild animals or in plucking fruits. Most probably they did not know the use of fire. The animals of that time are extinct.

Neolithic Men.—Implements of the Neolithic period are found throughout India except in Bengal. Remains of the polished implement factories have been found in Southern India. The enamelled pottery found at Harappa takes us to the period of the Sumerian civilization. The people at this stage used pottery, at first hand-made, and then turned on the wheel. Men kept domestic animals, cultivated land, and made sufficient progress in civilization. They buried their dead and constructed tombs. Cremation was a later practice. Tombs of this period are not found in plenty. Cockburn found two graves in Mirzapur, U. P. in which skeletons lay north and south on a thick stone slab, and the grave was also enclosed in a stone circle. At Pallavaram, near Madras, earthen mounds covering terra-cotta coffins have been discovered. Many prehistoric cemeteries have been found in the Tinnevelly district, the most ancient seat of pearl and conch-shell fishery. Some people suppose that these graves are of the foreign settlers who came for trade. The Neolithic men learnt the use of gold before copper or iron.

Copper Age.—In Europe men used an alloy of copper and tin for their implements in the post-Neolithic period. But there was no Bronze Age. People used iron

immediately after polished stone as in the South or copper as in Northern India. 424 copper implements and 102 thin silver plates were discovered in 1870 at Gungeria, a village in the Balaghat district of the Central Provinces. Copper is also mentioned in the Atharva Veda. Roughly speaking these copper and silver implements came into use in about 2000 B. C.

Iron Age—When iron was introduced cannot be definitely said. It was in common use in Egypt in the seventh century B. C. It was in use in Babylonia from very ancient times. "The Iron Age in India," says V. A. Smith, "may well go back to 1500 or even 2000 B. C."

The primitive Indian.—The ethnography of modern India is not a sufficient guide to the discovery of the earliest inhabitants of India. We have already seen that the surface of the country has undergone considerable changes. The peninsula from the Aravalli southwards bears evidence of a very remote antiquity. It has been permanent land for millions of years. The Gangetic and the Indus valleys are of comparatively later growth. So the earliest inhabitants of India must have lived in the Deccan. The remains of the Paleolithic man have not as yet been discovered north of the Narmada. Certain tribes are now found in the Aravallis and the Salt Range who may be the descendants of the aborigines of India. Some scholars once held the view that the Negroes of Africa were the kinsmen of the aborigines of India, and the Andamanese were a group of that family. The theory has not been corroborated and no serious scholar supports it. The primitive Indian was in the stage of Paleolithic civilization.

The Dravidians.—Sir Herbert Risley has divided

the people of India into seven main types on the basis of their physical features. Of these types the Dravidians are probably the oldest. They are distinguished from the rest of the population of India by their low stature, black skin, and long forearm. The Dravidians occupy the oldest geological formation in India. Whether they were the earliest inhabitants of India is a matter of controversy. But there is no evidence of the existence of any other people except some tribes in the Central Indian hills who may claim priority over the Dravidians. The Paniyans of Malabar and the Santals of Chota Nagpur belong to this family. The original type has been modified by an admixture with the Aryans, Scythians and Mongolians, specially in the upper strata. Dravida or Tamil is the oldest language of India. The relations between the North and the South of India were not so close on account of the physical barriers. When the Aryans settled in the North the civilization of Southern India was not at all affected by them. The Dravidian civilization may therefore be called the pure unadulterated civilization of ancient India. But unfortunately the materials for a history of ancient Dravidian culture are scanty. No authentic documents have as yet been discovered. It is believed the Dravidians lived in the whole of India before the coming of the Aryans. They were reduced to the position of the Sudras in Northern India, but they maintained their integrity in the South for a considerable period. Even now the civilization of Southern India is a continuation of the old Dravidian civilization with a veneer of Aryan culture. The arts, architecture and literature of Southern India are distinctively Dravidian.

The Mongolians—Immigrations of foreign people

have come into India either by the North-East or the North-West. The Mongolians of China entered India by the Brahmaputra valley or across the Himalayas. The Kanets of Kulu, the Lepchas of Darjeeling and Sikkim, the Limbus, Murmis and Gurungs of Nepal, the Bodos of Assam, and the Burmese belong to the Mongolian family. There has been also an admixture of the Mongolian blood with that of the Dravidian in the people of Bengal and Orissa. The Mongolian immigration has been slow and imperceptible. A full account of the influence of the Mongolian culture upon the civilization of India has not been written. The Tantric form of worship in Bengal is considered a result of Mongolian influence. The Mongolians have not done much in changing the political life of the country.

The Aryans.—The most important immigrants came by the North-West passes. Of them the Aryans are the oldest. According to the European scholars these Aryans lived in Central Asia. When their country dried up they spread out in different directions. Some of them went to Europe and others came southward to the banks of the Oxus and the Hindu Kush region. In course of time they came into India in successive hordes, and some groups settled in Persia. The immigration into India continued for a considerable length of time. The process might have commenced 4,000 years before the birth of Christ. In the beginning they settled in the North-West Frontier and the Punjab. They came with their families and maintained unsullied their Aryan blood and culture. A second wave of the Aryan invaders came by Gilgit and Chitral and established themselves in the plains of the Ganges and the Jumna. Most probably they could not bring their families, and

therefore formed alliances with the Dravidians. A mixed type of people arose out of this union of the Aryans and the Dravidians. The Aryans of the Punjab looked down upon the people of the eastern parts and used contemptuous epithets whenever they referred to these people. A third wave came down the Indus, and entered into Central India by Kathiawar and Guzerat. It is also believed that the Aryan settlers in Babylonia came to India by the coast line and entered into India by the ports. The Aryan invaders by whatever route they might have come have changed the history of India. The original inhabitants accepted their language, customs and religion. The whole of India has gradually become Aryanised and whatever we know of India is really the history of the spread of Aryan civilization in the country.

Modern research, with the help of comparative anatomy, comparative philology and comparative mythology, has succeeded in collecting much valuable information regarding the Aryans before they entered India. The word "Arya" is derived from a root which means ploughing; and it is inferred from this that the people who first learnt the art of cultivation adopted this title as a mark of distinction, and subsequently the name might have been applied to the entire race. Later on Arya came to mean "honourable" or "noble."

It is generally believed that the Aryans lived in Central Asia before they separated. The tract of land, watered by the Amu Dariya and the Murghab, and bounded by the Caspian Sea on the west, the Hindu Kush on the south, the Kailas range on the east, and the Kizelkum and other sandy deserts on the north,

was the original home. The Mahratta scholar Tilak holds that the "Vedic and the Avestic evidence clearly establish the existence of a primeval Polar home." His view has not been fully accepted by European scholars. The Aryans might have come from their Arctic home to the Central Asian plateau, but the matter requires careful examination.

By a study of the words in the languages of the peoples spread over the globe from India to Ireland the scholars have drawn up a picture of Aryan life before they separated. They were then divided into three classes, one lived by hunting, the second by tending flocks of cattle and the third by agriculture. This indicates a settled state of society far in advance of primitive life. "The life of the hunter was hard, rude, and more or less violent; that of the shepherd inactive slothful and nomadic; and that of the agriculturist stable, normal and regular." says M. Flotard. "The hunter and the shepherd were under the necessity of moving about in quest of game or fresh pasture, easily movable dwellings or tents were best suited to their requirements; the agriculturist remained attached to his field, built solid and fixed houses, and cultivated in his mind a profound sentiment of respect for religion and morality. The family and the tribe were the most dear to the nomads; but the nation, the people, the country and the city claimed the greatest consideration from the agriculturists."

People knew the art of weaving. They manufactured cloth out of wool. Furs, skins and woollen fabrics were used for clothing. They could manufacture pottery and arms. Of the metals they knew the use of gold, copper and iron. Their food differed

according to their mode of living. The hunters lived upon meat, the shepherds and the agriculturists on the produce of their fields supplemented by milk and occasionally by meat. The hunters and the shepherds used to take fermented drinks. The Soma was their principal beverage.

The ancient Aryans could compose poetry and metrical compositions of various kinds were current among them. The hymns of the Rig Veda, and the gathas in the Zenda-vesta are but evidence of the development of the poetic genius of the Aryans. Although there is a strong similarity in the languages of the Indo-European family their alphabets are distinctly of different types. This has led to the conclusion that the Aryans did not know the art of writing, otherwise some similarity in the alphabets could have been traced.

There is incontestable proof of the Aryans having cultivated the laws of morality and civil government. The law of marriage was strict. Marriage among blood relations was forbidden. They fully recognised the rights of property and inheritance. There were fixed rules for the punishment of theft, robbery and fraud. "A strong sense of right and wrong, of virtue and vice." says Rajendra Lal Mitra, "was a prevailing characteristic of their moral life; and abundant evidence is at hand to show that they had an honest, truthful and law-abiding career guided by elders, chiefs and kings to whom they paid great respect, and whose orders they carried out with diligence.

They had a settled form of government, for the maintenance of which taxes and contributions were realised. The form of government was monarchic with a king at the head. The family life was patriarchal.

The earliest Aryans most probably had no idea of God. As they made some progress they might have believed in cruel and vindictive gods and spirits whom they dreaded or tried to cheat by cunning. Gradually they created a host of divinities presiding over the different elements and natural phenomena such as earth, water, air, sky, etc. But this is possible when the religious sentiment has been awakened. Men must have been impressed with a sense of the divine or felt a yearning for a knowledge of the supernatural. In such a spirit the sun, the fire, the stars, the elements, all appear as the visible emblems of the unknown Great Cause. Ultimately man is led to the Great Cause itself. The belief in one Supreme God was searched by the Aryans, but it did not attain tbe fixity and uncompromising firmness of the Vedantic Theism.

The conception of one Supreme God was not contradictory to the conception of many subordinate divinities. Even Zoroaster, an ardent reformer of the ancient faith, admitted these divinities as angels or spirits, good or bad. Muhammad also recognised the existence of a celestial hierarchy of angels and archangels to carry out the behests of the Supreme Divinity. That the Aryans had the conception of one Supreme God proves the high order of their civilization. They did not always call the Supreme Being by the same name nor did they always assign the same attributes to him. They all however beheld in fire and in light a manifestation of the Divinity. The Iranians considered fire as the only means of divine manifestation. The Sun was held in profound veneration as the emblem of the Invisible God. The Hindus and the Parsis still worship the Sun; the former made so much progress in the

knowledge of the universe that they denied that the Sun ever rose or set. (Aitareya Brahmana).

Worship of God was celebrated by hymns and prayers accompanied by offerings of the produce of the flocks and the fruits of the earth. There was no temple or no monument. "The universe was the only temple worthy of the grandeur of the Supreme Being, the vault of heaven was the only shelter for the ceremonies celebrated in his honour by the chief of the family who was the high priest, the foremost chanter, and the first prophet of the divinity."

There was also a strong belief among the Aryans that there were certain malevolent spirits always at war with God. Plague and storms and inundations were caused by them.

Migration of the Aryans.—It is very difficult to say when and why the Aryans left the original home. The cause probably was partly economic and partly religious. They could not go to the east as it was thickly populated by the Turanians. So they pushed on the three other sides where they did not meet with much opposition. The first Aryan colonists in the north are known as Mesagetae. In the west the European races, known as the Slavonic, the Lithuanian and the Teutonic are of Aryan origin. So all the important European races are Aryans. Four different streams went westward through Persia, *viz.*, the Celts, the Thracian, the Armenian and the Hellenico-Italian. The last and the most important movement, so far as India is concerned, was towards the south. They came to Afghanistan and settled in the country round about the Hindu Kush.

The settlement in Afghanistan was not altogether

peaceful. The shepherds and the agriculturists followed different modes of living. The shepherds were violent and advanturous, but the agriculturists were peace-loving and steady in their habits. The attributes of the gods of these people differed according to their way of living. The god of the shepherds was wrathful and warlike, while the god of the agriculturists was peaceful and mild. The difference of ideals led to quarrels. The shepherds drove the agriculturists out of Afghanistan. The defeated party came to India. The victors spread their branches in Persia. In Zenda-vesta Ahuras, that is Asuras, are all that is good and virtuous, and the Deos or Devas are the demons. The reverse is the case in the Vedas. This shows the antagonism between the two peoples.

These scattered races of Asia have once again met together. The Celts, the Teutons and the Iranians have come to the agriculturists who fled to India, and it is believed a new type of civilization will be evolved out of this union. " The descendants of the long separated hunters, shepherds and agriculturists of ancient Asia." says Rajendra Lal Mitra, " have once again met on one common ground, and it is to be earnestly desired that their re-union in India will prove conducive to their mutual advancement, and, that forgetting their ancient feuds, they will light the calumet of peace, and establishing a new era of civilization dwell in brotherly love with each other."

CHAPTER IV.

THE VEDIC AGE.

Age of the Vedas.—It is not definitely known when the Aryans entered India. Their sacred literature, the Vedas, constitute the only basis of forming an idea of their social and political conditions. The Vedas have recognised as the oldest literature of mankind. Other nations, such as the Egyptians, the Chaldeans or the Chinese claim a very ancient civilization, and they have authentic records of their kings. But they have not produced such a rich literature as the Vedas. The civilization described in the Vedas presupposes a process of development extending over a long period. The Vedas give us a full, connected and clear account of the progress of the human mind, such as we shall seek for in vain among the records of any other equally ancient nation.

The foundation of the first Egyptian dynasty of kings is assigned to about 4000 B. C. The Chaldean history begins from 3000 B. C. The Chinese account goes back to 2400 B. C. The European scholars do not allow the Vedic hymns a date earlier than 2000 B. C. "The earlier stratum," says Prof. Macdonell, "that of the Vedic Hymns, may be assumed roughly to extend from 1500 to 1000 B. C." But at the same time he says that chronology of the Vedic period is purely conjectural, resting on internal evidence alone. Bal Gangadhar Tilak in his *Orion* published in 1893 asserted on astronomical evidence that the "Vernal equinox was in

the constellation of Mriga or Orion (about 4500 B. C.) during the period of the Vedic Hymns, and that it had receded to the constellation of the Krittikas or the Pleiades (about 2500 B.C.) in the days of the Brahmans." Some European scholars have acknowledged the force of these arguments, but others are still sceptical.

Vedic literature.—The Vedic literature consists of of two parts, the Srutis and the Smritis. The Srutis are the books of revelation, and the Smritis are the books of tradition. The Srutis are again divided into Samhitas and Brahmanas. The Smritis consist of the Sutras.

The Samhitas are four in number: Rig, Sam, Yajur, and Atharva. Atharva was not at first recognised as a canonical book. It struggled hard to enter into the group of Samhitas. As late as the time of Kautilya (320 B. C.) we find that only the first three were included in the category of the Vedas. These three formed the *Trayee.*

The Rig Veda is the oldest literature of the world. Veda means the book of knowledge or wisdom. The Rig Veda is the book of hymns. These hymns have been orally transmitted from generation to generation down to the present day. There is a perfect organization for the study of the Vedas. "If all the manuscript and all the printed copies were destroyed," says Prof. Rapson, "its text could now be recovered from the mouths of living men, with absolute fidelity as to the form and accent of every single word. Such a tradition has only been possible through the wonderfully perfect organization of a system of schools of Vedic study, in which untold generations of students have spent their lives from boyhood to old age in

learning the sacred texts and in teaching them to their pupils. This is, beyond all question, the most marvellous instance of unbroken continuity to be found in the history of mankind; and the marvel increases when we consider that this extraordinary feat of the human memory has been concerned rather with the minutely accurate preservation of the forms of words than with the transmission of their meaning."

There is a regular system of *pada-patha* or word-text by which each word is checked, a system of *Samhita-patha* or continuous text by which all mistakes in the text are corrected. This system was introduced before 700 B. C. In the time of Yaska (500 B. C.) some of chese Vedic words were unintelligible. By that time the book attained the position of a revealed scripture.

The Sama Veda is the book of songs mainly dependent upon the Rig Veda. It consists of verses for the benefit of the Udgatar or the singing priest. It is therefore of no historical value.

The Yajur Veda contains *sutras* of sacrifices. These *sutras* are repeated by the Adhvaryu at the time of performing the ceremony. It describes a new order of things, and there is a great deal of information of historical value in this Veda.

The Atharva is of a much later date and it contains accounts of the non-Aryans, which the other Vedas lack. Therefore it is considered to have been composed when the Aryan had assimilated a great deal of the non-Aryan culture.

The Brahmans are the books of explanations written much later. They are written in prose, and deal with the explanation of the sacrifices in each Veda. There is no direct historical information in these books. But

the illustrations and the stories give us an idea of the customs of the people. In course of time these Brahmanas acquired a sacred character and were included in the *Srutis.*

The Sutra literature forms a class by itself. The main object of the Smritis is to supply a key to the details of the Brahmanas. They are called Smritis as they contain references to the traditions derived from ancient sages.

Civilization of the Rig Veda.—The Rig Veda is very valuable from the standpoint of a student of history. It is a rich storehouse of information regarding the country, the manners, the policy, and religion of the ancient Aryans. The book consists of ten Mandalas or Cycles. Six of these Mandalas were composed by one Rishi or a family of Rishis each. The first, eighth and the tenth Mandalas were composed by a number of Rishis. The ninth Mandala contains hymns addressed to Soma alone. The tenth Mandala is of a later date. It contains materials not found in the other Mandalas.

The Aryans first settled in the North-West Frontier and the Punjab. The Saraswati river was their eastern boundary. Hymn 75 of the tenth Mandala refers to a number of rivers. Some extracts from the hymn will be found interesting.

प्र सु व आपो महिमानमुत्तमं कारुर्वोचाति सदने विवस्वतः ।
प्र सप्त सप्त त्रेधा हि चक्रमुः प्र सृत्वरीणामति सिंधु रोजसा ॥१॥
प्र तेऽरदद्वरुणो यातवे पथः सिंधो यद्वाजाँ अभ्यद्रवस्त्वं ।
भूम्या अधि प्रवता यासि सानुना यदेषामग्रं जगतामिरज्यसि ॥२॥

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इमं मे गंगे यमुने सरस्वति शुतुद्रि स्तोमं सचता परुष्ण्या ।
असिक्न्या मरुद्वृधे वितस्तयार्जीकीये शृणुह्या सुषोमया ॥५॥
तृष्टामया प्रथमं यातवे सजूः सुसर्त्वा रसया श्वेत्या त्या ।
त्वं सिंधो कुभया गोमतीं क्रुमुं मेहत्न्वा सरथं याभिरीयसे ॥६॥

"1. O ye streams! the bard celebrates your excellent powers in the house of the worshipper. They flow in three systems, seven streams in each system. The prowess of the Indus is superior to that of all others.

"2. O Indus! when you ran towards lands rich in food, Varuna opened out the way for you. You flow over a spacious path on the land. You shine above all flowing rivers.

"5. O Ganga! O Yamuna and Saraswati and Sutudri (Sutlej) and Parushni (Ravi) Share this my praise among you! O river combined with Asikni (Chinab)! O Vitasta (Jhilam)! O Arjikiya (Beas), combined with Sushoma (Indus) hear my word.

"6. Indus! first thou flowest united with Tristama, then with Susartu, and Rasa and the Sveti. You unite Krumu (Kuram river) and Gomati (Gomal river), with Kubha (Kabul river) and Mehatna. You proceed together with these rivers,"

We have here a perfect picture of the river system of the Punjab. Ganga and Yamuna were known to the Aryans, but their chief river was the Indus to whom they gave their due meed of praise. The rivers on the western side of the Indus, the Kabul, the Swat the Kuram and the Gomal were then flowing rivers, all joining the Indus. The Saraswati was a tributary of the Sutudri; but it has since disappeared in the sands of Central India.

Reference to the ocean is very meagre. The Atharva Veda contains some passages which show that the sea was known to its authors. The Aryans constructed crafts to cross the rivers, but there is very little to show that they had any means of sailing on the broad seas.

Rivers are described as flowing from the mountains. Himavat refers to the snowy Himalayas. There is no mention of the Vindhyas from which it is concluded that at the time of the composition of the Rig Veda the Aryans had occupied the country between the Suleiman range in the west, the sea in the south, the valley of the Jumna and the Ganges in the east.

Struggle of the aborigines.—The aborigines did not retire easily on the approach of the Aryans. They offered stout resistance, but they were overpowered by the superior military strength of the new-comers. When conquered they took refuge in the fastnesses and forests near Aryan settlements, and harassed them, stole their cattle, and attacked them whenever they found any opportunity. They disputed every inch of ground with dogged tenacity, destroyed the properties of the Aryans, interfered with their religious ceremonies, despised their gods, and plundered their wealth. Unfortunately the heroism of of these patriotic bands of soldiers has not been described by any poet. That is the fate of all conquered peoples. On the other hand they have been called Dasyus, and their battle-cries have been described as yells. The hymns of the Rig Veda contain copious allusions to the aborigines. Two passages are quoted to give an idea of the attitude of the Aryans towards them.

"O Aswins! destroy those who are yelling hideously like dogs and are coming to destroy us! You know the way to destroy them. Let each word of those who extol you bring wealth in return. O you truthful ones! accept our prayers." (I. 182. 4).

"The far-famed and graceful Indra is gracious to men (Aryans). The destroying and powerful Indra has cast down the head of the malignant *Dasa*!"

"Indra, whe slayed Vritra and stormed towns, has destroyed the troops of the black Dasa, and has made the earth and water for Manu. May he fulfil the wishes of the sacrificer." (II, 26, 6 & 7).

In one passage Indra is described as having killed 150 troops of the marauding aborigines. Sometimes they have been called Pisaches and Rakshasas. The Aryan invader exterminated the aborigines and drove them to the mountain fastnesses where their descendants may still be found. Some submitted to the Aryans and adopted their manners and customs. They formed the class of servants and received the rank of Sudras.

The Aryan tribes.—The Aryans were divided among themselves into many tribes. Among those mentioned in the Rig Veda the Gandharis were the most north-western. The Aryans have been also called the "five tribes." *viz.* Purus, Turvasus, Yadus, Anus and Druhyus, living in the valleys of the five rivers between the Saraswati and the Indus. They were often at war with one an other. The battle of Sudas, the king of the Tritsus against a combination of ten kings is one of the most important battles among the tribes. Sudas defeated the ten kings. The Tritsus occupied the country to the east of the Parushini (Ravi). The Purus lived on both banks of the Saraswati. The Turvasus are most generally mentioned along with the Yadus. The Anus settled on the banks of the Parushni, and were in alliance with the Druhyus. Another tribe among the enemies of Sudas was the Bharatas. They were accompanied by Rishi Viswamitra, by whose prayers they could cross the rivers. But Sudas was assisted by Vasistha. Viswamitra was at first a family priest of Sudas, but when he went away, his place was taken by Vasishtha. Thus began the

rivalry between the two Rishis. The Bharatas settled on the banks of the Drishadhvati and Saraswati. The whole country was afterwards named after them as Bharatvarsha or land of the Bharatas. Gradually the Aryans went towards the east. In the Atharva Veda mention has been made of the Magadhas and the Angas. These tribes disappear when we come to the Brahmana period, and come across the names of the Kurus and the Panchalas. Most probably the older tribes merged into one strong political unit.

Political organization.—The political unit of the Aryan settlers was the tribe (*Jana*) consisting of a group of settlements (*Vis*). A number of villages (*Grama*) again formed a settlement. The fighting organisation of the tribes were formed on the basis of these divisions. The houses in the villages were of wood. Each house used to look after its own domestic fire. Fortified enclosures (called *purs*) were built on elevated places as a protection against enemies and inundations. They were often earthworks with a stockade or occasionally with stones. They were resorted to only in case of emergency, and not for ordinary use.

The basis of the Vedic society was patriarchal family. The form of government therefore was monarchic. The king was the chief of the tribe. He was sometimes elected by the district (Vis) of the tribe, but very often he was hereditary. His main duty was the protection of the people, for which services he could command their obedience, and receive voluntary gifts from them. The system of fixed taxes did not exist. The king was not a despotic monarch. His powers were limited by the will of the people, expressed in the tribal assembly (Samiti). But no information is available regarding

the constitution of the assembly. The king was the leader of the army, and he used to perform sacrifices on the eve of a battle either personally or by a priest. The people were then in the military stage and their institutions necessarily were of the same type. Every tribe had to realise that its existence depended upon its preparedness for war. All able-bodied men had to fight.

Social order.—The organisation of the Vedic society was very simple. People formed a homogeneous body with similar modes of living, similar occupations and the same form of worship. The Rishis did not form a separate or exclusive class. They were practical men of the world who owned large herds of cattle, cultivated fields, fought in the wars and performed the sacrifices and offered prayers. The father of a family was a Rishi on a small scale. In the family worship the women also joined with him. There was no such exclusive caste as that of a priest. The prominent men in society who could compose hymns were sometimes entrusted by the kings to perform great sacrifices, and for which service they were handsomely rewarded. But these Rishis were as much men of the world as others and their positions as *Purohits* were not hereditary.

There was no caste system in the Vedic Society. The word *Varna* was used to distinguish the Aryans from the Non-Aryans. The modern caste names Kshatriya and Brahmana have been used in a different sense altogether. *Kshatriya* means strong, *Vipra* means wise, and *Brahmana* meaus merely a composer of hymns. In a hymn in the ninth Mandala the following passage occurs :—

"Behold I am a composer of hymns, my father was

a physician, my mother grinds corn on stone. We are all engaged in different occupations. As cows wander (in various directions) in the pasture fields for food, so we (in various occupations) worship Thee, O Soma! Flow thou for Indra! (IX. 112, 3).

In the same family father, mother and son followed different occupations. Viswamitra was a warrior and composer of hymns. The caste system was not in existence when the Aryans had settled in the Punjab. It developed later on when they proceeded towards the east.

Position of women.—Women occupied a position of honour in the family. The wife participated with her husband in the offering of sacrifice. She was the mistress of the house, wielding control not only over the servants and slaves but also over the unmarried brothers and sisters of the husband.

Father's wishes were always consulted in the question of marriage of a girl. He had to give away his girl gracefully adorned and decked with golden ornaments. But the girls also had a voice in the selection of their husbands. The practice of child-marriage did not exist. Girls were married after they had attained their youth. There is a passage in hymn 85 of the tenth Mandala :—" Go to some other maiden who is still in her father's house and has attained the signs of the age of marriage." There is another passage ;—" Go to an unmarried maiden whose person is well developed; make her a wife and unite her to a husband."

There was no obligation that every girl should be married. References to unmarried girls growing old in their fathers' houses and claiming a share in the paternal property are found in the Rig Veda. The marriage

was considered a sacred affair. The hymns of the marriage ceremony are unsurpassed in beauty and in the grandeur of poetry by similar passages in any other literature. Polygamy was unknown, and it was prevalent only among kings and rich people. The Indians were not unique in this matter. This custom prevailed among almost all the peoples of the world.

Widow-marriage was in vogue in the Vedic period. A passage in hymn 8 of the tenth Mandala runs thus :—

"Rise up woman, thou art lying by one whose life is gone, come to the world of the living, away from thy husband and become the wife of him who holds thy hand, and is willing to marry thee."

The words "Didhishu," a man that has married a widow, "Parapurva," a woman, that has taken a second husband, and "Paunarbhaba," a son of a woman by her second husband, are enough to prove that widow-marriage was a national custom among the Vedic people.

The son inherited the father's property. In the absence of a son the property went to the son of a daughter but not to a daughter. This custom continues up to the present day.

Funeral rites—The conception of the next world is singularly happy. The deceased goes to a place prepared by the forefathers. Yama in the Rig Veda is not the God of Hell, but the God of the Heaven of the righteous. He rewards the virtuous after his death. The forefathers are described as spending their time in joy and happiness with Yama. The rite of cremation as well as of burial is often mentioned. So both the customs were in existence.

Morality.—The standard of morality was very high.

Immorality was severely punished. Cattle-lifting was one of the common crimes. Criminals when caught were punished by being tied to stones with cords. Gambling was one of the passions of the people, in which they incurred debts, and paid them off by instalments.

Art and industry.—People knew the art of weaving. A lower garment and a cloak formed the principal dress. The chief material they used for their clothes was sheep's wool. Women also knew the art of weaving People generally kept their hair. They sometimes shaved their beard. Women plaited their hair and men wore it braided and wound like a shell.

Metals were largely used. Allusions to gold ornaments and to iron implements are numerous. Necklets, bracelets, anklets and ear-ring were among the ornaments. Swords and battle-axes were made of iron. References to skin vessels and to iron vessels are also found. They could manufacture war chariots, kettle-drums and other instruments of war. Carpentry made sufficient progress. Mansions with thousand pillars are also mentioned. This shows that the art of building was carried to some excellence. Stone was utilised as an important material for architecture. But the art of sculpture was not known, and no sculptured monument of the time has been discovered.

But the chief industry of the people was agriculture. The very name Arya comes from a root which means "to cultivate." The two other words *Charsana* and *Krishti* which have been derived from the root Krish or Chrish "to cultivate" are also synonymous with man. They cultivated lands with ploughs and oxen. Sometimes horses were employed. The fields were irrigated by means of wells, from which also they

by unnecessary austerities. It was a life of joy and happiness, not burdened with the consciousness of a miserable hereafter.

Vedic Religion.—At the early stage of civilization man is more poetic than critical, more imaginative than abstract. A study of the Vedic mythology, of the gods described in the Rig Veda specially, gives a very pleasant idea of the religious conception of the ancient Aryans. Nature to them was all in all. She stimulated their intellect and inspired their poetic genius. Struck with wonder at the grand phenomena of nature they burst in effusion of praise. The bright dawn, the powerful sun, the broad sky, the storm and rains, the rivers, all in their turn have enraptured the soul of man. Even now, after thousands of years of civilization, our heart leaps up at the sight of a beautiful morning, the blue sky, at the innumerable natural phenomena over which man has no control. Year after year men come from different parts of the world to have a glimpse of the Kinchinjungha shot with the rays of the morning sun. Millions of men cast their looks towards the East and the West at the dawn or in the evening and bend their knees in adoration at the glory of the celestial fire. No amount of philosophy or no amount of culture can take man's mind away from nature. To the Vedic Rishis the natural phenomena appeared as mixed up with a divine influence. Matter and energy were besmeared with a divine glory. They, therefore, gradually rose from the conception of many to the realisation of one in many. Towards the end of the Rig Veda the Rishis attained the highest spiritual ideal. Thus we find :—

"He who has given us life, he who is the creator, he who knows all the places in this universe, *he is one*

although he bears the name of many gods—other beings wish to know of him."

(X 22, 3).

The Vedic gods are many in number, In Vedic literature they are stated to be "thrice-eleven" eleven being in heaven, eleven on earth, and eleven in the waters. But more names are found in the Vedas. These gods have no individuality or definite outline. They have very few specific characteristics. In many cases they possess the same characteristics in part or in whole. Dawn, sun, fire have the common features of being luminous, dispelling darkness, appearing in the morning. Several deities have sprung from different aspects of one and the same phenomenon such as Surya, Savitr, Pusana.

The most important gods are Indra, Agni, Soma, Parjanya, Yama. Dyaus is the oldest among the gods of heaven. He is generally coupled with Prithivi, the mother. So Dyaus-Prithivi are the universal parents. Varuna is the highest of the gods. He is the great upholder of physical and moral order. The hymns addressed to him, though few in number form the most exalted portion of the Rig Veda. His pre-eminent position was afterwards taken by Indra.

There are five solar deities derived from the manifestation of the sun's power. Mitra is the personification of his beneficent agency. Surya is the eye of the gods, beholding the good and bad deeds of mortals. Savitri represents the quickening activity of the sun. Pusana exhibited in the genial aspect of the sun is chiefly a pastoral deity. Of the solar deities Vishnu is historically the most important. He takes three strides through the three divisions of the universe, *viz.*,

earth, space and heaven. The Gyatri mantra is addressed to Savitri, and forms the chief vehicle of the spiritual culture of the Hindus. In the Vedic Age it was not the exclusive property of the Brahmans as such a class did not then exist.

"We meditate on that supreme spirit of the splendid sun who directs our understandings." (Translated by Raja Ram Mohan Roy).

Other gods of the Vedic pantheon are the Asvins, Indra, Parjanya, Vayu, Rudra, Agni, Soma, Prajapati, Ushas and Saraswati. Of these Indra, Agni, and Soma are very important. The largest number of hymns in the Rig Veda have been addressed to them. Soma has an entire Mandala to himself. Goddesses occupy a very subordinate position. The only one of any consequence is Usha. "There is no livelier conception," says Romesh Chandra Dutt, "than that of the dawn." There are no hymns in the Veda more truly poetical than those dedicated to her, nothing more charming to be found in the lyrical poetry of any ancient nation."

A few extracts from the hymns will suffice to justify the statement.

"She, the young, the white-robed daughter of the sky, the mistress of all earthly treasure, dawns upon us dispelling darkness ! Auspicious Ushas ? shine upon us to-day in this spot.

"Following the path of mornings that have passed to be followed by endless mornings to come, bright Ushas dispels darkness and awakens to life all beings, unconscious like the dead in sleep.

"How long have the Dawns risen ? How long will the Dawns arise ? The present morning pursues those

that are gone, future mornings will pursue this resplendent Ushas.

"Mortals who behold the pristine Ushas have passed away; we behold her now; and men will come after us who will behold Ushas in the future."

(I, 113, 7-11)

There are hymns addreseed to the river Saraswati. Gradually she assumed the position of this goddess of speech and in that character she is worshipped even now.

The conception of Aditi indicates the progress of the Vedic mind to abstract deities. She is the mother of the group of gods known as Adityas and she has power of releasing from the bonds of physical suffering and moral guilt. It is presumed that Adityas meant the sons of liberation, and gradually liberatation became personified in Aditi. There are many other abstract deities, such as Sraddha (Faith), Manyu (Wrath), Prajapati (Lord of creation), and Brihaspasti (Lord of Prayer).

Next to the gods there appear a number of semigods, such as Ribhus, Apsaras and Gandharvas. Ribhus form a triad of terrestrial elves acquiring the rank of deities by their marvellous skill. Apsaras are water nymphs, distinguished by great beauty and devoted to dance, song and play. Later on they became the courtesans of Indra's heaven. The story of the apsara Urvasi and Pururava is the oldest Aryan love-story to be found in the Rig Veda. Gandharvas are the corresponding male order of the Apsara, and they appear in the post-Vedic age as celestial singers and musicians.

The most important hero of the Rig Veda is Manu, the first sacrificer and ancestor of the human race.

The common way of worship among the Vedic Rishis was the offering of libations at the domestic sacrificial altar. No mention of temples is found in the Vedas. The Rishis used to offer their prayers to their deities who even then did not take any physical forms. No trace of idolatry is to be found in the religion of the Vedas.

Later Vedas.—This is the kind of civilization portrayed in the Rig Veda. The Yajur Veda takes us to a new epoch of social and religious life. The centre of civilization is no longer the Punjab, but the Kuru-Panchala country lying between the Saraswati and the Drishadvati. Kurukshetra was the cradle of the Brahminical social system, and from there it spread to other parts. The adherents of the Yajur Veda were split up into several groups. We come across the first prose literature in the Yajur Veda, one half of the matter being written in prose.

The mythology of the Yajur Veda is practically the same as that of the Rig Veda. The sacrifice had assumed greater importance. Its power is so great that it compels the gods to do the will of the priests. Religion is now nothing but a mechanical sacerdotalism.

Caste system with four chief castes and the principal mixed castes is now firmly established.

The Atharva Veda depicts a different kind of civilization. The hymns of the Atharva Veda are applied to domestic rites, such as the cermonials connected with birth, marriage and death, and to the coronation ceremony of the kings. It is a heterogenous collection of spells. It represents more the superstition of the masses than the advanced beliefs of the Brahmans. Some of its spells are of pre-historic antiquity, in some

cases more ancient than the Rig Veda. As a source of historical information, the Atharva Veda is not less important than the Rig Veda. The eastern country of the Maghadas and the Angas was reached by the Aryans when the Atharva Veda was composed. The religion of the Atharva Veda is of a more philosophic character. The naturalness of the early Aryans has been superseded by a grander conception of life and of the hereafter.

Other Vedic Literature.—The Vedic Samhitas were followed by a different type of literature called the Brahmanas which were written in prose to explain to the priests the mystical significance of the sacrificial ceremonies. This period of intellectual activity confined to the explanation and study of the sacrifices lasted for a considerable time, probably from 800 to 500 B. C. The contents of the Brahmanas have been classified under three kinds, *viz.*, (i) *Vidhis* (directions), (ii) *Arthavada* (explanation), *and* (iii) *Upanishad* (theosophical speculation).

The Brahmanas are connected with the several Samhitas. They are mainly priestly documents, giving an one-sided view of the religion. The Upanishads, however, which come towards the end of the Brahmanas show a spirit of rationalism and philosophic speculation.

Connected with the Rig Veda are the two Brahmanas *Aitaréya* and *Kaushitaki* or *Sankhayana*. The former was composed in the Kuru-Panchal country. The Kaushitaki gives the information that language was specially cultivated in the north of India. The numerous myths and legends described in these Brahmanas provide valuable materials for a history of the primitive human culture. The legend of Sunahsepa is a reminiscence of the ancient custom of human sacrifices.

Raja Harischandra had no child. He vowed that if he had a son, he would sacrifice him to Varuna. In course of time he had a son called Rohita. When the child grew up the king was pressed by Varuna to sacrifice him. But Rohita escaped to forest, and Harischandra was afflicted with dropsy on account of this unfulfilled vow. A starving Brahmana agreed to sell his son, Sunahsepa, for a hundred cows to the king, and Varuna consented to accept the Brahman boy as a substitute for Rohita. When the boy was brought before the sacrificial altar he prayed to various gods, and Varuna ultimately relented. Harischandra was cured of his malady and the boy was released.

There is another story which shows that human sacrifice was replaced first by animal and then by a cake of rice.

The Aitareya Brahmana contains some valuable information regarding the social and political condition of India. The priestly caste had obtained ascendancy over the kingly caste. A number of the people of the Sòuthern India are mentioned by name. The kingly titles used in the different parts of India show that the forms of Goverment at that time ranged from absolute monarchy to self-governing communities. (Swaraj).

The Tandya-Brahmana connected with the Sama Veda refers to *Vratya-Stoma* sacrifices which were performed to enable the non-Brahminical Aryans to enter into the Brahminical order. These non-Brahminical Aryans pursued neither agriculture nor commerce; their laws were in a constant state of confusion, they spoke the same language as those who had already received Brahminical consecration, but their words were hard to pronounce. Most probably they were free-booters speaking Prakrit.

The Brahmanas connected with Yajur Veda are more important. Of them the Satapatha Brahmana is of great historical value. "This work is next to Rig Veda," says Prof. MacDonnell, "the most important production in the whole range of Vedic literature." It is remarkable for its wide geographical outlook. In some books the Gandharas, Salvas and Kekayas, peoples of the North-West, are mentioned. In other parts the eastern peoples such as the Kuru-Panchalas, the Kosalas, Videhas, Sranjayas are named. In the first part Sandilya is the highest authority, in the latter Yajnavalka. The book indicates the progress of culture from Kuru-Panchala, the court of Janamejaya to Videha the capital of Janaka. The reminiscences of the days when Videha was not Brahmanised are to be found in the legend of Mathava, the king of Videgha (Videha.) The king followed Agni Vaisvanara from the banks of the Saraswati first to Kosala (Oudh) and then across the Sadanira (Gandak) to Videha. The court of Janaka became the chief centre of Brahminic culture. The intellectual contest, were led by Yajnavalka who very often defeated the scholars from the West in argument. Gandaka, which separated Kosala from Videha, was the eastern boundary of the Aryan culture in this period. The country to the east was uncultivatated and marshy.

It seems the Satapatha Brahmana was composed before the rise of Buddhism. The words Arhat, Sramana, and Pratibuddha first occur in this treatise, but without the technical sense attached to these terms in Buddhist literature. The family of Gautama appears prominently in the list of teachers, and this name the Sakyas of Kapilavastu adopted. Asuri was a leading authority on Samkhya system, This name

occurs several times in the Satapatha. This shows that the Samkhya doctrine had come into existence by that time. The relations of the Satapatha with the epics Mahabbharata and Ramayana are more direct. The story of the Mahabbharata was related to King Janamejaya, the king of the Kurus: The name occurs for the first time in this book. Janaka, the King of Videha, was the father of Sita, the heroine of the other epic Ramayana. Kalidas derived some plots from this Brahmana for his dramas. The story of the love and separation of Pururava and Urvasi is told here with fulness. Mention is also made of Bharata, son of Duhshanta anl Sakuntala.

Another interesting legend which appears in the Satapatha is that of the Deluge. Once Manu got a small fish, which asked him to rear up, and promised to save him from the coming flood. When the flood came Manu tied a ship, which he had built with the advice of the fish, to its horn. The ship was carried to the top of the mountains, where Manu became the progenitor of mankind. The story is retold in the Mahabharata. It is also found in the Avesta, and is considered to have been derived from the Semitic source.

The idea of unity in the universe is more fully developed here than in any other Brahmana. The Satapatha therefore holds an important place in the history of Indian religion and literature.

The Gopatha Brahmana cennected with the Atharva Veda is of no historical value.

Upanishads.—The religion of the Rig Veda consisted of sacrifice and prayer. In the Brahmanas the religion was more mechanical and unintelligent. The Vedic verses have been separated from their context and arranged

by the Brahmanas to suit their requirements. Ritualism forms the most prominent part of religion. This could not satisfy the intellectual aspirations of the people. So we find the speculative mind of the Aryans finding expression in the Upanishads. Though forming a part of the Brahmanas they represent a distinct phase of spiritual culture. The Vedas and the Brahmanas represent the 'Religion of Works,' and the Aranyakas and the Upanishads represent the religion of speculation, and inquiry. The object of worship in the Vedas was to obtain happiness on this earth, and afterwards bliss in the abode of Yama. The sacrifices were a means to this end. In the Upanishads the aim of man is to secure release from mundane existence by the absorption of the individual soul in the world-soul by acquiring true knowledge. The ceremonialism does not avail for this purpose. Right knowledge of the world-soul is the only means. The soul is all and the material world is merely an illusion, and the individual soul is the same as the world-soul, *tat tvamasi* "Thou art that," these form the chief problems of Upanishadic speculation. The theory of the transmigration of the soul also appears in the oldest Upanishads, and it was adopted by Buddha in his philosophy. The doctrine of Karma, that is, that the character of subsequent birth depends upon the nature of action performed in the previous birth, is also found in the Upanishads. The Upanishads are half-poetical and half-philosophical. Their philosophy developed in the Vedanta System.

The Upanishads represent one important fact of social life in India. The Brahmanas which lay so much stress on ceremonialism were composed by the priestly caste, but theUpanishads which mark the beginning of the rationalistic epoch were composed by the kingly class. Ladies

also are found taking part in these discussions. The names of Gargi and Maitreyi are well-known to the readers of the Upanishads. They discussed with Yajnavalka the great problems of philosophy. The Brahmana Gargya Balaki came to king Ajatasatru to become his disciple.

Sutras—The Sutras represent the last phase of Vedic literature. They are divided into three classes, *viz.*, the *Srauta Sutras,* the *Grihya Sutras* and the *Dharma Sutras.* The Srauta Sutras deal with the ceremonials relating to the three sacred fires and the forms of Soma sacrice. The priests were paid for their services, and there is no evidence of any congregational worship. The Grihya Sutras supply abundant material for a history of the civilization, as here we find description of ceremonies connected with the domestic life of a man and his family, from birth to death. The Dharma Sutras are the earliest works on law both religious and secular. On the religious side they define the duties of a student and a householder with regard to purification, penances, and food, and on the secular side they deal with the law of marriage, inheritance and crime.

There are other literature connected with the Vedas but they do not come under any of these groups. The Pratisakshya Sutras are the treatises of Vedic phonetics. Yaska's Nirukta is the most important work on Vedic etymology. Panini stands out as the most important grammarian of the Vedas. These works do not provide any direct historical evidence. But a vast amount of important information may be derived from the etymology and the growth of meaning of the words.

This brief survey of the Vedic literature gives a short account of the civilization of India from 4500 B. C. to 200 B. C.

CAAPTER V.

THE EPIC PERIOD.

The free vigorous people of the Vedic Ages gradually settled in the different parts of Northern India. Their manners and customs changed in their new environments. The robust optimism of the early times gave place to a contemplative state of life. Natural religious adoration was superseded by complicated rites and ceremonies. This phase of life has been depicted in the Sutras and the Upanishads. Simultaneously with this change the old Vedic heroes passed into myths. Their stories were sung by bards and poets. The two important epics of India, the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana,* mark a new stage in the growth of Indian thought and literature. They introduce a combination of the marvellous and the supernatural into the description of human events. Morality has been woven with the heroic anecdotes and thus an attempt has been made to appeal to popular sentiments. Throughout the length and breadth of India these two books have assumed a popularity which no other literature in the world can pretend to claim. The stories related in them are repeated in every household from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. The books are read out to vast congregations either as a part of religious service or as a moral exhortation to the people. To the common uneducated masses these are their Vedas. If there is any literature which can be called truly national it is these two epics. People

read them to derive inspiration and pleasure, and they associate with these books the greatness of India.

Sanskrit epic poetry is divided into two main classes, *viz,* (*1*) *Itihasa, Akhyayana* or *Purana* and (2) *Kavya.* The Mahabharata is an *Itihasa* and the Ramayana is a *Kavya.* The Ramayana is the work of a single poet and homogeneous in plan and execution. It was composed in the east of India. But the Mahabharata is a congeries of parts. Its main story is the struggle between the Kurus and the Pandavas in the field of Kurukshetra. A number of anecdotes and a large quantity of didactic matter have been added to the main story and the book is now considered an encyclopædia of moral teaching.

The Mahabharata.—There has been a great controversy about the age and character of the Mahabharata. The Hindus consider it as a very old book written about 3,000 years before the birth of Christ dealing with events which actually did take place. The Western scholars do not recognise their claims. They think that the main story may have been composed shortly before 1000 B. C., but the book took its final shape much later. They admit on epigraphic and other literary evidence that the book was completed before 500 A. D. But the actual date of the composition is purely a matter of conjecture. So far as the subject-matter is concerned it is believed that the original kernel of the epic has as a historical back-ground an ancient conflict between the two neighbouring tribes of the Kurus and the Panchalas, who finally coalesced into a single people. Originally the feud was celebrated in songs and ballads. And they may have been collected by some poet into one whole in the form of a short epic. The early story describes the "tragic fate of the Kuru race, who,

with justice and virtue on their side, perished through the treachery of the victorious sons of Pandu with Krishna at their head." These portions of the book are marked by a heroic spirit, and the manners and customs described in these parts are different from the state of things in the later additions which have changed the charactor of the book as a whole. Brahma now appears as the highest God, but Siva and Vishnu become more prominent. In the early parts the heroes are more frank and bold, but in the later parts they are controlled by moral reasons and prudence.

The story of the Mahabharata.—The main story of the Mahabharata is the struggle between the sons of the two brothers, Dhritarashtra and Pandu, for the throne of Hastinapur, a city fifty-seven miles north-east of the modern Delhi. Dhritarashtra was blind and the kingdom was governed by his younger brother Pandu. On the death of Pandu his five sons were brought up with the hundred sons of Dhritarashtra who assumed the reins of government during their minority. The blind king nominated Yudhishthira, the eldest son of Pandu, as the heir-apparent. But this arrangement was not agreeable to the sons of Dhritarashtra. They planned many plots against the life of the five brothers who managed somehow to escape with their mother, and remained in disguise. They attended the *Swayambara* (public choice of a husband) ceremony of Draupadi, the daughter of the king of Panchala. Arjuna, the third brother, succeeded in a contest in which all the kings and heroes took part in hitting a fish through a moving quoit hanging overhead. The bride accepted the successful hero as her husband, but through the intervention of their mother she became the common

wife of the five princes. On this occasion the Pandus formed an alliance with Krishna, the king of the Yadavas. Now Dhritarashtra offered Indraprashtha, the modern Delhi, to the Pandavas in view of the fact that they had strong allies on their side.

But the Pandavas could not enjoy their prosperity long. The Kauravas were ever plotting to throw them out of power. Yudhishthira was invited to a game of dice in which he lost his kingdom, his wealth, his army, his brothers, and finally Draupadi. The lady was insulted in public by the Kuru brothers. Dhritarashtra intervened and the Pandavas were made to go into banishment for twelve years and they had to spend the thirteenth year in disguise. They retired into the Kamyaka forest on the Saraswati and spent the thirteenth year in the service of Virata, the king of the Matsyas. The Kauravas at this time invaded the territory of Virata to capture his large flock of cattle. The Pandavas fought valiantly against the invaders. On the expiry of their period of exile they demanded the restoration of their kingdom which the Kauravas flatly refused. So war was declared and the two armies met on the famous field of Kurukshetra. On the side of the Pandavas were the Panchalas, the Matsyas, part of the Yadavas under Krishna, the kings of Kasi, Chedi, Magadha and others, while the Kauravas were supported by the people of Kosala, Videha, Anga, Banga (Bengal), Kalinga on the east and those of Sindhu, Gandhara, Bahlika (Balk) and the Sakas and the Yavanas on the west. The war lasted for eighteen days and the Kurus were completely defeated. Both sides suffered terrible loss. Yudhishthira was crowned king at Hastinapur and performed a great horse-sacrifice to get

himself recognised by the kings of India as their suzerain. The Yadavas were also annihilated afterwards by an internecine conflict and Krishna was accidentally shot dead. The Pandavas weary of life left their kingdom to Parikshita, the grandson of Arjuna, and retired from the world.

The supplementary book, the Harivamsa, gives an account of the family of Krishna and his exploits. A number of episodes have been thrown into the narration of the main story of the Mahabharata, constituting four-fifths of the book. Many of these episodes have been utilised by later writers as plots for their great literary works.

Historical Value of the Mahabharata.—For the construction of the ancient history of India the Mahabharata does help us very much. It is difficult to find out the authenticity of the stories which have been mixed up with fables and in many cases have been presented in an exaggerated form. But there is no doubt. most of these stories are based upon historical incidents. The main story refers to a conflict between the Kurus and the Panchalas. Some scholars think that the Pandavas were not Aryans. The incident of Draupadi marrying the five brothers in the form of the polyandry practised in Tibet lends support to the theory that they were a non-Aryan people coming ac·oss the Himalayas. 'Pandu' also means pale. So it is supposed that they were a yellow race. This however seems to be a far-fetched theory based upon unsubstantial arguments.

From the names of the different kings and peoples coming to the field of Kurukshetra we gather some historical information. The Aryan influence had then spread from Balk to Assam. Kathiawar, the territory

of the Yadavas, on the one side, and Kalinga on the other, marked the southern limits. The Madhya-desa, or the country between Meerut and Delhi, was the centre of culture,

The picture of society is more interesting than any other information. The Brahmanism had already made sufficient progress but still the Kshatriyas held supreme position in society. The *Swayambara* ceremony of Draupadi is a beautiful illustration of the social condition of the time. Caste system has not acqruired its rigidity. Draupadi was a Kshatriya girl and anybody could win her hands who would succeed in the contest irrespective of caste. The girl choosing her husband according to some test is possible only in a society where men and women enjoy equal liberty. The marriage of one girl to a number of husbands at the same time is rather irregular in an Aryan family, but that the husbands had also other wives in addition to their common wife shows that marriage relations were of a comparatively loose type. The system of fixed relation was not fully established. Child-marriage was unknown. Kunti, the mother of the Pandavas, also gave birth to a son before her marriage. Bidur, the issue of a slave girl, enjoyed equal rank with the other Kshatriya princes in social matters. The Brahmans had no scruple in taking food from the Kshatriyas.

The political life of the people was sufficiently organised. Monarchy was the prevaling form of government and a system of justice was developed. Bhishma, the great patriarch of the Kurus, while lying wounded on the battle field, gave a few discourses to Yudhisthira about the duties of a king. In the course of his learned discourses he gives a description of the origin of state which is given below.

The Origin of State.—Early in the Krita Yuga there was no severeignty, no king, no government, no ruler. The people used to protect each other. After some time they found their task painful, and often committed blunders. They became covetous and wrathful. When they could not control their passions unrestrained license set in. The distinction between virtue and vice disappeared and along with it the knowledge of the Supreme Being. In this state of confusion the gods approached Brahma for protection and advice. Brahma created by a fiat of his will a son named Virajas. This son became the ruler of the world. So the king is the issue of divine energy and he administered his territory according to the laws of God.

Functions of a King.—The king is said to have seven limbs, *viz.*, (1) the King, (2) Ministers (3) Territory (4) (4) Forts, (5) Treasury, (6) Army and (7) Allies. There could be no sacrifice in a country without a king, so the people had to elect and crown a king. The main function of the king was the protection of the people; "without a king the position of men would be like that of a herd of cattle witbout a herdsman. If the king did not exercise the duty of protection, the strong would forcibly appropriate the possession of the weak. All kinds of property, and even wives, sons, and daughters would cease to exist. Every part of the country would be overrun by robbers; all restrictions about marriage would cease; agriculture and trade would fall into confusion; morality would be lost; the Vedas would disapper; sacrifices would no longer be performed; society itself would cease to exist; famine would ravage the country; and all kinds of injustice set in."

Law of succession.—Kingship was a political office.

Although as a rule the eldest son succeeded to the throne of the father, the wishes of the people were always consulted. When the succession was in dispute between Yudhishthira and Duryodhan the people preferred the former If the king failed to do his duties poeple were not under any obligation of loyalty to him. At the time of the coronation the king had to take an oath that he would always look to the welfare of the country, and he would always abide by whatever was law and whatever was prescribed by the rules of ethics and politics, and that he would never be independent. He could not disregard the advice of the ministers.

Ministers.—The qualifications of a minister are of a very high standard: Thus it is said: "the person who achieves celebrity, who observes all restraints, who never feels jealous of others, who never does an evil act, who never abandons righteousness, through lust, or fear, of covetousness or wrath, who is clever in the transaction of business, and who is possessed of wise and weighty speech, should be the foremost of ministers." Further, to assist the chief minister there shall be subordinate ministers who should be well-born, and possessed of good behaviour, and who are liberal and never indulge in bragging, who are brave and respectable, learned and full of resources.

Finance.—The main source of revenue was the rent from land at the rate of one-sixth of the total yield. Other sources were fines and forfeitures from offenders, and imports levied upon merchants and trades. The customs duties were the payment for the services rendered by the king in protecting trade and commerce. In ancient India the king was not the owner of the land. He had only a claim to one-sixth of the product in order

to defray the expenses of the State. The king had always to consider the ability of the people in paying taxes. He should act in such a way as his subjects should not feel the pressure of want. Morever the king should never be covetous and he should not oppress his subjects by levying taxes not mentioned in the Sastras.

Law.—The Dharma-Sastras laid down the principles for the guidance of the kings and the people, and the learned Brahmans were the principal interpreters and advisers of the kings.

The Army.—The army consisted of four parts, *viz.*, infantry, cavalry, chariots and elephants. In fine weather the army was very effective, when it contained a large number of chariots and horsemen, but in rainy seasons it would be effective with a large number of foot-soldiers. The chief weopons of war were mace, battle-axe, disc (*Chakra*), bow, arrow, and thunderbolt (*Vajra*) Most probably firearms had come into use as the words, "*Vajra,*" "*Nalika*" and "*Agneastra*" indicate. The warriors paid special attention to the selection of grounds for pitching tents. It required great skill in arranging the troops in proper order. Success in war depended upon their arrangements.

War becomes necessary when a dispute cannot be settled by peaceful means. Sometimes wars are declared to suppress the unrighteous and get oneself acknowledged as the paramount ruler. This kind of warfare is known as righteous. But aggressive wars to subjugate other peoples are not unknown. The virtues of a Kshatriaya are extolled in the Mahabharata. Warriors are supposed to attain heaven when they die in the field. Those who run away from battle are considered as wretches among men.

The laws of war as described in the Mahabharata are humane and honourable. A king is enjoined not to subjugate countries by unrighteous means. A warrior without armour, who is asleep or fatigued or is in grief in any way, or who has surrendered, or is fleeing should not be killed. No harm is to be inflicted on non-combatants.

Arts and Industry.—No remains of the ancient kingdoms at Hastinapur and Indraprastha exist at present. From the description of Mahabharata it seems architecture of the time was of a high order. A beautiful palace was built for the Pandavas at Khandavaprastha by Maya Danava, an expert architect. The city was surrounded by a trench on all sides, and there was a high rampart outside the moat, intersected by gates with lofty towers. Inside there were fine buildings, lovely gardens, lakes and tanks.

Agriculture was the main industry of the people. The king had to make arrangements for proper irrigation by maintaining lakes and digging tanks. Cultivators were also paid in advance out of the treasury for agricultural purposes. There was a regular Agricultural Department to look after cultivation and to help people to learn the improved methods

The Ramayana.—The Ramayana was composed almost at the same time as the Mahabharata. The reputed writer of the book is Valmiki whose hermitage was situated on the south bank of the Ganges. The place of origin of the poem was Kosala ruled by the Ikshakus, and it was composed before 500 B. C., before Buddhism arose or the foreigner invaded India. The name Ikshaku, Dasaratha and Rama are found in the Rigveda and the main story is based upon Indian mythology. Some

scholars have tried to explain it as an allegory of the attempt of the Aryans to conquer the South, but Rama is nowhere described as founding an empire in the Deccan. Neither is it quite correct to say that the poem is a description of the spread of the Aryan culture to the South and to Ceylon. But the poem indicates that the people of the North were no longer ignorant of the South. Dandaka forest was a barrier between the North and the South. The stay of Rama in that forest and his subsequent march down to Ceylon throws some light on the geographical knowledge of the people.

The state of society as described in the Ramayana is slightly different from that of the Mahabharata. " We miss in the Ramayana," says R. C. Dutt, " the fiery valour and the proud self-assertion of the Kshatriya of the Mahabharata and the subordination of the people to the priestly caste is more complete." He further says, " The real heroic age of India has passed and that centuries of residence in the Gangetic valley had produced an enervating effect on the Aryans. We miss the heroic, if somewhat rude and sturdy manners and incidents which mark the Mahabharata. We miss characters distinguished by real valour, and battles fought with real obstinacy and determination. We miss men of flesh and blood, and pride and determination like Karna and Duryodhana and Bhima, and the best developed characters in the Ramayana are women like the proud and scheming Kaikayi or the gentle and ever-suffering Sita. The heroes of the Ramayana are somewhat tame and commonplace personages, very respectful to priests, very anxious to conform to the rules of decorum and duty, doing a vast amount of fighting work mechanically, but without the determination, the presistence of real fighters.

A change had come over the spirit of the nation ; and if the princes and men had become more polished and law-abiding, they had become less sturdy and heroic."

The story of the Ramayana.—Dasaratha was a king of the Ikshaku race at Ajodhya. He had three queens and four sons. When the king was about to perform the ceremony of appointing his eldest son Ramachandra as Yuvaraja or heir-apparent his favourite queen Kaikayi interceded in favour of her son Bharata and prayed for the exile of Rama for fourteen years. Rama went into voluntary banishment with his younger brother Lakshana and his wife Sita. Dasaratha died in grief, and Bharata ruled the country as the representative of Rama in his absence. Rama spent his years of exile in the Dandaka forest. When he went out hunting the giant Ravana of Lanka came to the cottage and managed to send away Lakshana from his post as sentinel. In the absence of the two brothers the giant captured Sita and carried her by force to his island kingdom. Rama on his return to the cottage found the cottage deserted. He roamed about in search of Sita, and at last got information from a bird Jatayu about her whereabouts. With the help of the tribes of Southern India, who have been described as Banaras he crossed the sea and fought valiantly against the giants. His chief allies were Hanumana, Sugriva and Bibhishana, brother of Ravana. The palace of the giant-king was burnt. After the continuance of the battle for several days Ravana was slain. Sita was released from her forest prison of Asokavana. The period of fourteen years' exile had expired by the time and Rama was invited by Bharata to come back to Ajodhya. As there was some suspicion about the fidelity of Sita she had to pass through a fiery ordeal. She

proved her innocence and henceforth Rama reigned peacefully. But after sometime Sita was sent to the hermitage of Valmiki when the people talked about her association with Ravana. In the hermitage Sita gave birth to her twin sons Kusi and Lava. Once again when at the great sacrifice a second ordeal of Sita was demanded she was called into the womb of her mother Earth. The birth and death of Sita are mixed up with supernatural incidents. She was picked up by king Janaka of Mithila on the head of a ploughshare, and she disappears in the earth at the end. This has led to the supposition that the story of the Ramayana is an allegory of the process of agriculture.

The main place of importance is Ajodhya on the bank of the Sarayu. Mithila to the east is the territory of Janaka. There is no mention of any country further east. The Aryan culture has spread up to the banks of the Falgu in Magadha.

Rama appears in later literature as an incarnation of Krishna and the great Hindi poem *Ramcharitamanasa* by Tulsidas is read by a large number of people with great devotion.

The Puranas.—The Mahabharata is sometime called a Purana. But there are eighteen distinct works known as the Puranas. Generally a Purana deals with five subjects, *viz.*, *Sarga* primary creation, *Pratisarga* secondary creation, *Vamsa* genealogies of gods and patriarchs, *Manvantara* reigns of various Manus, and *Vamsanucharita* the history of ancient dynasties. They are popular treatises dealing with mythology, philosophy history and the sacred law. These Puranas are of various dates and only seven of them contain accounts of Kings. The genealogical tables have proved useful in

tracing the dynastic lists from 600. B. C. downwards. Mr. Pargiter has collected the lists in The *Dynasties of the Kali Age*. He thinks that the Bhabishya Purana is the main source of the Matsya, the Vayu and the Brahmanda Puranas. The historical matter was compiled in the reign of the Andhra king Yajnasri about the end of the second century A. D.

The Puranas describe a form of society in which caste system is fully developed, and the forms of worship gradually become popular and ritualistic. Popular imagination finds its concrete shape in temples and images. Hindu art and architecture are the symbolic expressions of the faith of the people. The Puranic Philosophy is not abstract or contemplative but is rich with human sympathy and human feelings.

CHAPTER VI.

THE AGE OF GAUTAM BUDDHA.

From the sixth century before the birth of Christ our information about the history of India is capable of arrangement in time order. It is not so vague and shadowy as in the previous ages. Two great religious teachers were born towards the end of the sixth century. The vast amount of literature of the two movements affords sufficient material for the history of the period. The first exact date in the history of India is 326 B. C. when Alexander invaded the country. The more ancient dates have been calculated on the basis of literary traditions, reckoned back from the known dates.

The Sisunaga Dynasty.—The first dynasty which has left any authentic account is that of Sisunaga. He was a chieftain of Benares and later on fixed his capital at Giribraja or old Rajgriha, in about 642 B. C. The fifth monarch of his family, Bimbisara, ruled Magadha from 582 to 554 B. C. He built the town of New Rajgriha, and extended his territory by conquering Anga (the modern Bhagalpur and Monghyr districts.) He was succeeded by his son Ajatasatru, who remained king for about twenty-seven years. He built a fortress at the confluence of the Son and the Ganges, which afterwards developed into the imperial city of Pataliputra. He conquered the kingdom of Kosala, and the country of the Lichchavis. Ajatasatru was succeeded by his son Darsaka in 527 B. C. and

Udaya, his grandson, occupied the throne in 503 B. C. The last king built the city of Kusumapura on the Ganges. He was succeeded by Nandivardhan and Mahanandin, who ruled for forty and forty-three years respectively. Mahanandin was the last king of the dynasty. He had, by a Sudra woman, a son named Mahapadma Nanda, who became the founder of the Nanda dynasty in 413 B. C.

Jainism.—It was during the reign of Bimbisara that both Mahavira and Buddha were preaching their religions. Mahavira Vardhamana was the last great teacher of Jainism. He was born in a noble family of Vaisali, capital of the Lichchavis in 540 B. C. He joined the the order of Parsvanath, but could not remain long there, as the rules of the Order did not satisfy him. He became the leader of a new movement at the age of forty and preached his religion for about thirty years. His missionary activities were mainly confined to Magadha, Videha and Anga. He died at Pawa in the district of Patna. He was related to the kings of these countries through his mother. Bimbisara and Ajatasatru accepted his teachings. At the time of his death in 468 B. C. the number of his followers was more than 14000.

Jainism maintains a close connection with Hinduism. It does not go against the caste system, and Brahmans are very often employed in their religious ceremonies. The Jains also believe in the Hindu gods, and some of them do not object to be called Hindus. They however do not accept the authority of the Vedas, and they oppose the practice of animal sacrifice. Their doctrine of the duality of man's personality is their principal feature. Human personality comprises both material

and spiritual natures, and they do not believe in the existence of a universal soul or a supreme deity. God, according to them, is the "highest, the noblest, and the fullest manifestation of all the powers which lie latent in the soul of man." Their highest virtue is *Ahimsa, i.e.,* not to hurt any sentient object. They believe that even the so-called inanimate objects such as stocks and stone are endowed with soul (Jiva). So their Ahimsa extends very far. The religion of Mahavira is a humane religion appealing man to practise love and charity, not only towards human beings, but also towards every thing that surrounds our life. It is an austere religion demanding self-control and various other austerities. The followers of the doctrine have not only established hospitals for men but also for animals. They have erected rest houses and other institutions for travellers and pilgrims. Jainism has not gone beyond the borders of India on account of its close connection with Hinduism. There are two principal sects of the Jains, the Svetambaras and the Digambaras. The Svetambaras again have another branch called the *Sthanaka-vasi* who rejects the use of idols. Jainism is still a living religion, and there are a large number of Jains throughout India.

Gautam Buddha—While the teachings of Mahavira are respected by a large number of Indians the teachings of Gautam Buddha are followed by vast populations outside India. Gautam Buddha was a world-teacher, calling men from the troubles of their life to the enjoyment of eternal peace. He was the scion of a Sakya clan ruling at Kapilavastu on the borders of Nepal. His father Suddhodana was the chief of the clan. His mother was a daughter of the Raja of the

Koliyans to the east. Whether the Sakyas and the Koliyans were Aryans or Mongolians is a matter of controversy. The accepted theory is that they were Kshetriyas and Aryans. There are others who hold that they were Mongolians. Even if they were Mongolians, they were sufficiently Aryanised, their social and political organisation was purely Aryan. Gautam was the only child of his father born in about 567 B. C. and was brought up in luxury and pleasure. He married early in life, and at the age of 29 a son was born to him. At this time of his life he became contemplative. He was overburdened with the thoughts of age, sickness, death and misery. The world was to him a snare, and he was anxious for a release from its troubles. He made up his mind to renounce his position, his wife and his child, and went to Rajgir to spend his days as an ascetic. There lived in the caves of the hills several hermits renowned for their scholarship and piety. Gautam first attached himself to Alara and then to Uddaka. He learned from them all that Hindu philosophy had to teach. But this did not satisfy him. He then retired into the jungles of Uruvela near Bodh Gaya and spent six years in austere penance. By fasting and mortification his body was emaciated, and yet he did not receive the peace of mind which he was seeking. He then gave up the practice of self-torture. His disciples left him and went to Benares. When sympathy was most needed his friends and disciples forsook him. In this state of struggle while he was wandering about along the banks of the Nairanjara he received unexpected sympathy at the hands of Sujata, a village girl. He sat under a large tree throughout the day and towards the evening his doubts cleared

away, and he became, the *Buddha* or the enlightened. The great mystery of sorrow was solved, and he received the peace of of mind. The passions lost their fire, and the world was no longer the abode of temptations. That was the supreme moment in the life of Gautama, and after receiving the enlightment he was filled with love for humanity and began to preach his new doctrines.

First he went to Benares, and there he turned the Wheel of Law in the Deer-park. The site has been recently excavated. The Emperor Asoka erected a pillar at the place, which has been recently found at Sarnath, three miles from Benares. Benares has been associated with many sacred memories in India, and there it was that Buddha "set rolling the chariot-wheel of a universal empire of truth and righteousness." From that time till his death he preached his Law. He moved about from place to place in the kingdoms of Magadha, Kosala, and in the territories of the Sakyas, the Koliyans and the Lichchavis. He visited Kapilavastu more than once and received into the order his son, his wife and his stepmother, besides a large number of friends and relatives. The most famous resorts of the master during the four months of the rains were the *Velubana* in the vicinity of Rajgir, and the *Jetavana* near Sravasti. Throughout the year he used to wander about teaching his new gospel to the people and during the four months, June to October, he used to observe the *Vas*, where all his disciples met him and received instructions from him. This custom still exists among the Buddhists in Ceylon where people meet together at night to listen to religious discourses by the monks. Whenever Buddha visited any place he lived outside the city in some jungles, and if no food was

supplied by the people he went about with a begging-bowl from door to door till sufficient quantity of food was collected.

The teachings of Buddha.—In his first sermon at Benares he explained his teaching. The virtue lies in following the Middle Path, that is, on the one hand not to be addicted to the pleasures of sense, and on the other not to practise self-torture and mortifications which the ascetics advise. The Middle Path is summed up in the eight principles :—

1. Right Belief.
2. Right Aims.
3. Right Speech.
4. Right Actions.
5. Right Means of Livelihood.
6. Right Endeavour.
7. Right Mindfulness.
8. Right Meditation.

There are four Noble Truths which everyone has to realize, *viz.*, suffering, the cause of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the Path which leads to the cessation of suffering. This life is full of sorrow. We are always guided by our senses, this is the cause of suffering, and where we can conquer our passions there is an end of our sorrow. The eight-fold path leads to the attainment of this state of mind. This is the substance of his teachings. He thought neither ceremonialism nor penance was sufficient for the attainment of virtue. He presented a scheme of life which appealed to every reasonable man. His code of morality was sure to elevate people from narrow selfishness and baser elements of life. Ahimsa formed an important part of his creed. He did not discuss about the next world or a Supreme Being. Self-

culture is the key of his entire teaching. He created an order of disciples who carried the gospel from place to place. But the progress of the movement was not much till the time of Asoka, the great Maurya Emperor, who sent missionaries to various parts of India and outside. Buddhism has made considerable progress since then, although its hold upon the land of its birth is almost nothing.

Gautam Buddha died at the age of eighty at Kusinara near the Nepal Terai in 487 B. C. He created a ferment in the country, by inviting men and women, of all classes to follow his teachings. His teachings have been gathered together in the three baskets (Tripitakas), *viz.*, Vinaya Pitaka, Sutta Pitaka, and the Abhidhamma Pitaka. The social upheaval which Buddhism brought about in India lasted for several centuries. His teachings were afterwards absorbed by the Hindu teachers. A new philosophy embodying his doctrines but at the same time dealing with the ultimate problems of soul, reality and God extinguished Buddhism in India in about the eighth century after the birth of Christ.

The causes of its popularity.—The popularity of Buddhism was due no doubt to its practical philanthropy, its social equality, and its deep morality and commonsense views. People were disgusted with the tyranny and superstitions of the Brahmans who fell off from their high ideal. Penances, self-torture, the sacrifices, and the un-intelligent repetition of *mantras* had lost their charm. Buddha spoke in the language of the people, and his discourses contained a practical philosophy. He drew the people to a brotherhood which helped considerably in uniting the nation. "The success of Gautama's mission," says Mr. E. B. Havell, "must have been dne

partly to his own magnetic personality and the deep human feeling which inspired his teaching, and partly to the fact that he opened wide the doors of Aryan religion and satisfied the spiritual desires of the masses by offering them a religious law easy to understand and accessible to all, free from elaborated and costly ceremonial, raising the social status of the lower orders, giving them their spiritual freedom and making the life of the whole community healthier and happier."

The Buddhist order.—Buddha gave a new interpretation to this old Aryan culture and tradition. The Sangha which he organised was an institution of great political importance. It trained the members of the brotherhood in conducting their business on a purely democratic basis. The great Councils which were held at the death of Buddha at Rajgir, or at Vaisali hundred years afterwards or at the time of Asoka, or of Kanishka, prove incontestably how Indians managed their affairs in a constitutional manner. These Buddhist Councils were not singular. Almost all religious movements had their own assemblies. Even now such meetings are not rare. The Buddhist order admitted men and women who renounced the world and devoted themselves entirely to the propagation of truth. The Jain order included the lay members as well. A candidate for admission into the Buddhist order after the preliminary ceremonies had to repeat the two formulae, kneeling before the President. The first of these was as follows :—

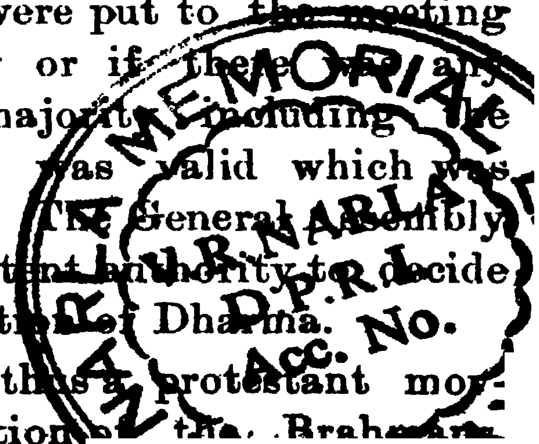
बुद्धं शरणं गच्छामि ।
धम्मं शरणं गच्छामि ।
सङ्घं शरणं गच्छामि ।

"I go for refuge to the Buddha,
I go for refuge to the Law,
And I go for refuge to the Order."

Then he had to repeat the ten precepts:

1. "I take the vow not to destroy life.
2. "I take the vow not to stea .
3. "I take the vow to abstain from impurity.
4. "I take the vow not to lie.
5. "I take the vow to abstain from intoxicating drinks, which hinder progress and virtue.
6. "I take the vow not to eat at forbidden times.
7. "I take the vow to abstain from dancing, singing, music and stage plays.
8. "I take the vow not to use garlands, scents, unguents, or ornaments.
9. "I take the vow not to use a high or broad bed.
10. "I take the vow not to receive gold or silver."

The senior members of the order are called Samana, and Bhikshu and the novices Samanera. All of them were mendicants. They had to follow the injunctions of Buddha, which are summed up in the four earnest meditations, the four great efforts, the four roads to Iddhi or Saintship, the five moral powers, the seven kinds of wisdom and the Noble Eight-fold Paths. Of these injuctions the Noble Eightfold Paths are the most important. At the meeting of the Sangha the members took their seats according to seniority: The motions were carried after they were put to the meeting three times either unanimously or if there was any discussion by the vote of the majority including the absentee members. No vote was valid which was contrary to the Dharma or Law. The General Assembly of the Order was the only competent authority to decide disputes regarding the interpretation of Dharma.



The Buddhist movement was thus a protestant movement which undermined the position of the Brahmans

reorganised Indian society on a wider basis, and re-adapted the religious thoughts to the actual needs of the people. Its philosophy was not entirely new as it had some kinship with the Sankhya philisophy of Kapila. But its social doctrines gave the people a practical code for the guidance of their daily life.

The political condition of India at the time of Buddha.—The Aryan settlers lived in clans and their form of government was more or less republican. Generally a single chief was elected as the chief executive officer with the title of Raja, and whenever the supreme power became hereditary the result was the establishment of a monarch with unlimited authority. The reverse process of a monarch being converted into a republic is scarcely found. Videha is the only one instance in the Buddhist records of a tribe, once under a monarchy, going back to the republican form. At the time of Gautam Buddha we find powerful monarchies existing side by side with republics with absolute or modified freedom. There were four kingdoms of great importance, viz., Magadha, Kosala, Kosambi and Avanti. The small kingdoms were about a dozen in number but they had very little political importance, and they were gradually absorbed in the powerful neighbouring states. The number of aristocratic republics existing at the time is not easy to ascertain. The most important republics were those of the Sakyas and the Vajjians. The Koliyans were a sub-clan of the Sakya race. The Vajjians consisted of eight confederate clans of whom the Lichchavis and the Videhas were most important. The other independent clans were the Mallas of Kusinara and Pava.

The Buddhist Books mention sixteen important

states, all called after the peoples dwelling therein. The names of the states are as follows:—

1. Anga.
2. Magadha.
3. Kasi.
4. Kosala.
5. Vajji.
6. Malla.
7. Chedi.
8. Vamsa.
9. Kuru.
10. Panchala.
11. Matsya.
12. Surasena,
13. Assaka.
14. Avanti.
15. Gandhara.
16. Kamboja.

The list does not include the names of some important states such as Sivi, Maddha, Sovira, Udyana and Virata. Vaisali, Anga and Kasi lost their independence but they are described here as independent states. This shows that it was an old list, and the traditions passed into the Buddhist books, without correction. There is no mention of the South or of the countries to the east of the Ganges. "The horizon of those who drew up the list," says Professor Rhys Davids, "is strictly bounded on the north by the Himalayas, and on the south (except at this one point) by the Vindhya range, on the west by the mountains beyond the Indus, and on the east by the Ganges as it turns to the south."

The Buddhist books also mention Dakshina Patha, but it means only a settlement on the Godavari. The other southern places mentioned are Patisthana or Paithan, and probally Tagara. The names of Kalinga and of Dantapura are found in the Nikayas where also references to sea-voyages out of sight of land are found. The names of Barukachha and Supparaka are found in other books.

Important Kingdoms.—The names of the four important kingdoms have been already mentioned. It is interesting to know the relations existing between these countries.

1. **Magadha** is now called Behar. Its boundary at the time was the Ganges on the north, the Champa on the east, the Vindhya mountains on the south, and the Son on the west. The kingdom was about three hundred miles in circumference, and contained about eighty thousand villages. Its capital was Rajgaha, and afterwards Pataliputra. Bimbisara was the king when Buddha began to preach and he was afterwards succeeded by his son Ajatasatru. He married the sister of king Pasenadi of Kosala and he had also another wife, who was known as the Videha lady as she came from Mithila. Ajatasatru was the son by this Vedeha lady. It is said that Ajatasatru at the suggestion of Devadatta, a cousin of Buddha, who broke away from the Order, starved his father to death eight years before the death of Buddha. His step-mother, the Kosala Devi, died of grief at the death of Bimbisara. Then king Pasenadi of Kosala annexed the township of Kasi, which was given as dowry to the Kosala Devi. This led to a war between the two kings. Although Ajatasatru was victorious at the beginning he was defeated in the fourth campaign and taken a prisoner. He was forced to marry a daughter of Pasenadi, and then Kasi was granted to her as a wedding gift. The relations between the two kings were friendly since then. When Vidudhuba, Pasenadi's son, rose in rebellion against his father, the latter came to Ajatasatru for help. He was taken ill before he reached Rajagaha and died outside the city gate.

Ajatasatru extended his territory by invading the country of the Lichchavis. Three years after the death of Buddha when the leading families of Vaisali quarrelled amongst themselves Ajatasatru attacked their capital, and annexed the country to his kingdom. From a recent discovery of a statue of the king at Mathura it is believed that his empire extended in the west upto that city. This statue is the oldest sculpture extant in India. The earliest capital of Magadha was Giribraja, which was planned by Mahagovinda the architect. The stone walls of this city are still to be seen and they are the oldest relics of the stone buildings in India. Bimbisara removed his capital to Rajagaha. Ajatasatru fortified the city when he apprehended an attack by king Pajjota of Ujjaini. The details of the attack are not known. But we find that in the fourth century B. C. Ujjaini was a province of the kingdom of Magadha. The capital was removed by the later kings first to Vaisali and then to Pataliputra.

Bimbisara invited Buddha to his palace and afforded him all facilities to preach his religion. Ajatasatru was not favourably disposed towards the new religion but later on he went to Buddha for advice when he was overwhelmed with remorse for killing his father. There is however no evidence to prove that the accepted tho new religion. On the death of Buddha the king asked for a portion of the relios as a Kshatriya king, and built a Stupa over what he received. It is also stated the he made the necessary arrangements for the first Buddhist Council at Rajgaha on the death of Buddha. The hall at the gate of the Sattapanni cave was prepared by him for the assembly and he was generous in his patronage to the Buddhists, without in any way

identifying himself with their creed. This active promotion of all religious movements without in any way committing oneself to any creed is a special feature of the Indian princes.

2. The kingdom of *Kosala* was lying to the north-west of Magadha. It was bounded on the south by the Ganges, on the east by the Gandak, and on the north by the Himalayas. The western boundary cannot be defined. It included modern Oudh and Benares. Its capital was Savatthi identified with Sahet and Mahet on the Rapti. At the time of Buddha its king was Pasenadi, and then his son Vidudabha. Kosala was a very powerful kingdom in Northern India. There was a rivalry between Kosala and Magadha for the paramount position. The names of some of the kings before Buddha are found such as Vanka, Dabbasena, and Kamsa. The last king conquered Kasi. The Sakyas acknowledged the Kosala kings as their over-lords in the seventh century B. C.

Kosala and Magadha were connected by marrige relations. Bimbisara married a sister of Pasenadi. and the struggle between Pasenadi and Ajatasatru has already been described which ended in an alliance of the two powers.

Pasenadi was a learned king. He was educated at Takshasila, and on his return from that place he was invested with royal authority by his father Mahakosala. He was a good administrator and he always liked the company of good men. Early in life he became a disciple of Buddha. His aunt lady Sumana, entered into the Order and became an Arhat.

Pasenadi asked for a Sakya girl to become his wife in order to be associated with the family of Buddha.

The Sakyas considered such connection as dishonourable, and sent him Vasabha Khattiya, the daughter of a chief by a slave woman. Vidudabha was the son of Pasenadi by this slave girl. When Vidudabha on coming to the throne came to know of the trick played upon his father he declared war against the Sakyas a year or two before the death of Buddha. The city of Kapilavastu was captured, and the people were mercilessly slaughtered. The Sakyas lost their independence, and Kosala extended its territory up to the foot of the mountains.

3. The third important kingdom was that of *Vamsa* The people were known as the Vamsas or Vacchas. The capital was Kosambi. The country was between Kosala and Avanti along the banks of the Jumna. Udena, son of Parantapa, was the reigning king at the time of Buddha. He knew the art of taming elephants. He was once entrapped by king Pajjota of Avanti, but he eloped with Vasuldatta, the daughter of the latter. He was a man of violent temper. There is a story that he tortured Pindola, a Buddhist monk, by tying a nest of brown ants to his body. Long afterwards he became an adherent of Buddha under the influence of Pindola. The king survived Buddha, and it is not known whether his son Bodhi succeeded him or not.

4. *Avanti* was colonised by the Aryans who came down the Indus Vally, and entered India by the gulf of Kach. Its capital was Ujjaini, and the reigning king of the time was Pajjota. His relations with Udena of Kosambi have already been stated. They were matrimonially connected and were at war with each other for sometime, The city of Rajagaha was fortified against a contemplated attack by Pajjota. We have no definite

information when Avanti was conquered by the kings of Magadha.

Minor kingdoms.—Other kingdoms had by the time lost their independence or detailed information about them is not available.

(*i*) The kingdom of Anga was situated to the east of Magadha. Its capital was Champa, near Bhagalpur. There was constant war between Magadha and Anga, and in Buddha's time the eastern kingdom was included in the territory of Magadha, and its Raja was simply a wealthy nobleman.

(*ii*) Kasi was an old kingdom of the Bharatas. In the sixth century B. C. Kosala and Magadha were quarrelling over the revenue of the township, and ultimately it was absorbed into Kosala. In the time of Buddha although Kasi had lost its independence, people cherished its old glory.

(*iii*) The kingdom of the Kurus had the Panchalas to the east and the Matsyas to the south. Indraprastha, near modern Delhi, was its capital. It was about two thousand miles in circumference. It had no political importance at the time. Some important Suttantas were delivered at a place called Kammassa-Dhamma within the kingdom.

(*iv*) The Panchalas occupied the country between the mountains and the Ganges, that is, the country round the present Meerut. They had two kingdoms with their capitals at Kampilla and Kanouj.

(*v*) The Matsyas dwelt in the region south of the country of the Kurus and west of the river Jumna and the territory of the Southern Panchalas.

(*vi*) To the south-west of the Matsyas and west of the Jumna were the Surasenas with their capital at

Mathura. Avantiputta was the king at the time of Buddha.

(*vii*) There was a settlement of Assakas on the banks of the Godavari with Potana or Potali as capital. It is believed that it was a colony of the people who first settled between Surasena and Avanti.

(*viii*) Gandhara is an ancient kingdom identified with modern Kandahar or the eastern portion of Afghanistan including the North-West Punjab with Takshasila as capital. Its king Pukkusati sent an embassy to Bimbisara in the time of Buddha.

(*ix*) The most north-western kingdom was that of Kamboja with Dwarka as Capital.

(*x*) The Chedis had two separate settlements, one in Nepal and the other near Kosambi.

Important Republics.—A number of tribal republics existed side by side with the monarchies, but very little is known about these republican states except in the case of three or four of them. These states were the settlements of various clans with their tribal form of government. The names of the following clans are found in the Buddhist books :—

1. The Sakyas of Kapilavastu.
2. The Bhaggas of Sumsumara Hill.
3. The Bulis of Allakappa.
4. Kalamas of Kesaputta.
5. The Koliyas of Rama-Gama.
6. The Mallas of Kusinara.
7. The Mallas of Pawa.
8. The Moriyas of Pipphaliva.
9. The Videhas of Mithila.
10. The Lichchavis of Vaisali.

Of these the Sakyas, the Vajjians, the Koliyas and the Mallas appear prominently in Buddhist literature. Buddha was born in the Sakya family, and his mother came from the Koliyas. He died in a country of the Mallas, and spent some time in preaching his religion at Vaisali, the capital of the Lichchavis.

(*i*) The Sakya territory was on the border of Nepal and British India, 450 miles from Rajagaha, 375 miles from Vaisali, and 50 or 60 miles from Savatthi. It was about fifty miles from east to west and thirty miles from north to south. The ruins of its chief town have recently been discovered by the Archæological Department. Buddha was born in a garden at Lumbini on the way to the country of the Koliyas. Asoka erected a pillar there, which has been discovered. The modern name of the place is Rumindei. It is said Buddha had eighty thousand families on his father's side and the same number on his mother's side. Thus the population of the Sakya territory including the country of the Koliyans who were really a subordinate sub-division of the Sakyas, was about a million. There were a considerable number of market towns in the country, of which Satuma, Samagama, Khomadussa, Sitavati, Mitatupa, Ulumpa, Sakkara, and Devadaha are mentioned in the ancient books.

The business of the clan was transacted in a public assembly of all people, young and old. The Mote Hall (Santhagar) at Kapilavastu was their meeting place. Here all business, administrative and judicial, were carried. Every important town had its Mote Hall covered with a roof, but with no walls. The villagers used to meet in the groves or under a big banyan tree to discuss their own local affairs. Similarly each clan

had its own Mote Hall. Buddha inaugurated a new Mote Hall at Kapilavastu by giving there a series of moral discourses.

The clan elected its own president with the title of Raja. It is not known what was the exact period of his tenure of office. Suddhodana, the father of Gautam, was a Raja, and so was his cousin Bhadiya. The Raja was the president of the National Assembly, and when it was not in sessions the chief executive officer of the state.

The main sources of income of the people were the rice-fields and the cattle. The villages were separated from each other by forests which were parts of the great wood (the Mahavana) which stretched from the Himalayas to the Ganges. There were rice-fields attached to each village and the cattle grazed about in the outlying forests. Men of certain special trades, such as carpenters, smiths and potters lived in separate villages of their own. Brahmans had their own settlements, for example, Khomadussa. There were very few merchants and bankers. When the clans were subjugated by the neighbouring kingdoms the country became covered over with forests. Its ancient civilization was swept away.

The fate of the Sakya territory has been already described. Its independence was destroyed by Vidudabha of Kosala, and it was made a part of the Kosala empire.

(*ii*) The Koliyans dwelt to the east of the Sakyas. Their government was almost similar to that of the Sakyas. Their chief town was Devadaha. The central government maintained a special body of peons or police, who were notorious for extortion and violence. The Mallas also maintained a similar set of officials.

(*iii*) The Vajjians occupied the territory now known as Tirhoot or North Behar. They had eight confederate clans, of which two principal were the Videhas of Mithila and the Lichchavis of Vaisali. Vaisali has been identified with Besar in the district of Mozafferpur.

Videha was a kingdom before the time of Buddha, associated with the name of the famous Janaka. But in the time of Buddha it is described as a republic. It was about twenty-three hundred miles in circumference and its capital was Mithila, thirty-five miles north-west of Vaisali.

Mahavira Vardhaman was born in Vaisali. There were three chief officers of the state like the triumvirate of Rome. The administration of criminal justice was carried on by a regular gradation of officers known as justices, lawyers, rehearsers of the law maxims, the council of representatives of the eight clans, the general, the vice-consul, and the consul. These officers could acquit the accused, but in case of punishment they had to refer to their next higher officer. The consul was the final authority. There was a book of legal precedents and references to tables of law are also found. The smaller clans did not possess such a complicated machinery.

The Lichchavis were conquered by Ajatasatru of Magadha, as they gradually became luxurious and lost their unity. Vaisali was for a short time capital of the Magadha empire.

(*iv*) The territory of the Mallas of Kusinara and Pawa was probably at the foot of the Himalayas to the east of the Sakya country and north of the Vajjian territory. There is another tradition that the Mallas

dwelt to the south of the Sakyas and east of the Vajjians. They remained independent in the time of Buddha, and their later history is not known.

All these republics existed in the country to the north of the Ganges. Some people therefore doubt whether the tribes enjoying such autonomy were purely Aryan. These settlements were established later than those in the Punjab and in the Gangetic Valley, and they therefore maintained their independence down to a very late age. Moreover it is probable that a wave of immigrations of the Aryans followed the foot of the mountains. They might have come from Kashmir to Kosala and then to the Sakya country, and through Tirhoot to Magadha and Anga. This later immigration might account for the difference in manners and customs of the Prachyas from those of the people of the Kuru-Panchala and the Punjab. Mr. Grierson has pointed out the resemblance in the dialects of Rajasthan, Nepal and Chamba, which fact may be taken as a proof of the common starting places of these peoples.

The Principal Cities.—Prof. Rhys Davids has collected some information of the principal cities existing in the seventh century B. C. A list of those cities with brief information is given below :—

1. *Ayojjha* was a town of Kosala on the Sarayu. It was the capital of the Ikshakus in the Ramayana. It had no importance in the time of Buddha.

2. *Baranasi* was a city on the banks of the Ganges between the two streams Barana and Asi. It was the capital of an independent kingdom before the rise of Buddhism. In the time of Buddha its Town Hall was used for public discussion on religious and philosophical questions, and not for business of the state.

3. *Champa* was the capital of Anga, on the banks of the Champa river. It has been identified with a village of the same name, twenty-four miles east of Bhagalpur. There was a grove of Champaka trees on the banks of the Gaggara lake in the city where the Buddhist monks used to find shelter.

4. *Kampilla* was the capital of the Northern Panchalas on the banks of the Ganges. Its site has not yet been identified.

5. *Kosambi* was the capital of the Vamsas on the Jumna, twenty-three miles from Benares. It was an important centre of trade. It was connected by trade route with Ujjaini on the south aud by another to Kusinara on the north. The river connected it with Rajagaha. There were four Buddhist monasteries in its vicinity, *viz.*, the Badarika, Kukkuta and Ghosita Parks, and the Mango Grove of Pavariya. Buddha delivered some of his important discourses in one or other of these monasteries.

6. *Madhura*, probably modern Mathura, was the capital of the Surasenas, on the banks of the Jumna. The name of its king at the time of Buddha was Avanti-putta. Buddha visited the place. The city became prosperous between the time of Buddha and the King Menander.

7. *Mithila* was the capital of Videha, associated with the names of Janaka and Makhadeva. It was about fifty miles in circumference.

8. *Rajgaha* was the capital of Magadha. The ancient capital was at Giribraja and later at Rajagaha proper. The later Sisunaga kings removed their capital to Vaisali and thence to Pataliputra. The fortifications of the ancient towns are still to be seen.

9. *Koruka* or Roruva was the capital of Sovira (modern Surat). It was an important centre of trade connected with the interior of the country as well as with the ports of the western world. Its site has not yet been identified. It was on the gulf of Kach somewhere near Kharragoa. On the fall of Roruku Bharukaccha or Broach and Supparaka in the south of the Kathiwar peninsula rose into importance.

10. *Sagala* was the capital of the Maddas. It offered stout resistance to Alexander, and Menander made it his capital. Some people identify it with Sialkote.

11. *Saketa* was an ancient capital of Kosala, and was reckoned in the time of Buddha as one of the six great cities of India. It is identified with Sujankot on the Ravi River in the district of Unao in Oudh. It was forty-five miles to the south of Savatthi, and there was a broad river between the two places.

12. *Savatthi* or Sravasti was the capital of Northern Kosala. It was one of the six great cities of India. It is identified with Sahet-Mahet on the Rapti.

13. *Ujjaini* was the capital of Avanti. It was a centre of learning in later times. Many Buddhist remains have been found in its vicinity.

14. *Vaisali* was the capital of the Lichchavis, and headquarters of the Vajjian confederacy. It is identified with Besar in Mozafferpur. It was twenty-five miles north of the Ganges, and thirty-eight miles from Rajagaha. It was a rich and prosperous city. Buddha delivered some of his discourses in a hermitage in the Maha Vana near Vaisali, and Mahavira Vardhamana. the founder of Jainism, was born in a suburb of the city. There were many shrines and temples in the city before the rise of Buddhism.

III. THE CONDITION OF THE PEOPLE.

Village organisation.—The people of India lived mainly in villages. In the literature of the times not more than twenty towns of any great size are mentioned. The manners and customs of the people therefore were formed according to this circumstance. The social structure and the economic erganization of the villages were not always of the same type. There were historical and local causes which produced divergency in the village arrangements. In some cases the Aryans settled in places inhabited by savages, in other places they came in contact with civilized peoples with perfect social organizations. The ideas of the conquered were in many cases adopted by the conquerors, and sometimes the conquerors succeeded in improving their own culture. Besides, there were broad rivers and impenetrable forests separating tribe from tribe or clan from clan. But in spite of these circumstances tending to produce difference we find a great deal of similarity in the organization of the villages. The external appearance was almost similar. The houses in a village were generally found in a cluster and a grove of big trees of the priemeval forest stood close by. And the agricultural and pasture grounds lay stretched beyond this.

The agricultural and pasture lands belonged to the community. The agricultural lands were divided into plots according to the heads of families. Each family enjoyed the produce of the plot it cultivated, and it had no proprietary right. No one could sell, mortgage or bequeath his share. Although the eldest son generally managed the property, on the death of the householder the right of primogeniture was not recognised. The grazing grounds were not divided and after the harvest

the agricultural lands were also used as pasture lands. The householders however had their individual right over their cattle. But they employed a common herdsman to tend the flock, The herdsman was a very useful member of the community. He tended the flock, treated them in sickness, and had to take all necessary steps to maintain the flock in efficient condition. The plots of lands were not fenced, but generally they were separated from each other by the water channels, and there was a common fence for the entire village. No one could acquire any exclusive right in the pasture grounds or in the forests.

In case the family broke up the personal property was divided equally among the sons, sometimes the eldest son getting an extra share and sometimes the youngest. Land was also divided equally among the sons. The personal property of the women consisted mainly of jewelry and clothes. The daughters had a right to the property of the mother. But women had no share in the lands as they depended upon their husbands and brothers.

The king had no property in the land. He had a claim to the revenue which the people paid as a tribute for affording protection. The peasantry could not be ejected from their lands or could not be deprived of any of their rights. In case of grants to priests or Brahmans the king only parted with his share of the revenue, but could not eject a peasant from the land.

The business of Government in a village was carried on by a village headman. He was generally appointed by the Village Council, and very often his office was hereditary. Later on he was appointed by the king. He had to construct and look after the roads, and to make

arrangements on the occasions of royal or official visits to the village. He was the representative of the people before the higher officials. The villagers were never asked to render free labour to the state. The mechanics and artisans however were later on employed by the king and they had to render any service demanded of them.

The villagers had a sense of perfect co-operation. They laboured together for the public buildings, roads and tanks. The mote halls, rest-houses and reservoirs were built by them without any help from the Government. So also they used to construct and maintain their village roads and the village parks. Women were proud to participate in such works of public utility. The people did not wait for the Government to provide them with their amenities of village life.

The people were happy and contented. They all lived a simple life. "There were no landlords and no paupers" says Prof. Rhys Davids. The difference of wealth, which is a root cause of discontent among the peoples of the present day, did not then appear in its ugly form. No one died of starvation, and no one was rolling in affluence. But every one had enongh to satisfy his simple needs. In this state of things there was nothing to goad people to crime. The king was sufficiently strong to protect the people against invasions or to put down dacoits. People slept in their houses with open doors. Such was the sense of security among them. The only calamity which people had to fear was famine due to drought, which was not of infrequent occurrence.

The structure of society.—Society was divided into four principal grades, *viz.*, Kshatriyas, Brahmans, Vaisyas

and Sudras. The Kshatriyas were fair in colour, and they were robust and healthy. They are supposed to be the descendants of the early Aryan leaders. But there are cases of Dravidian and Kolarian chiefs passing as Kshatriyas, when they maintained their independence and social rank. In the time of Buddha the Kshatriyas occupied the highest position in society. Next in order stood the Brahmans descended from the sacrificing priests. The Vaisyas were peasants, and the bulk of the Sudras were non-Aryans, working for hire and doing all menial duties. Below these four grades were other people classed as low tribes (*hina-jatiya*) and low trades (*hina-sippani*). The aboriginal tribesmen who used to work in rushes, catch birds, and prepare carts as a hereditary profession were put among the low tribes. Others following the profession of mat-makers, barbers, potters, weavers, and leather-workers were placed among the low trades. Besides, there were other aboriginal tribes such as Chandalas and Pukkusas who were still more despised. All these people were free men. There were also slaves captured in predatory raids, or sentenced to slavery on account of some criminal offence, or otherwise. But their position was much better than that of the slaves in Europe and America. The Indian slaves were household servants, and in some cases they could obtain their freedom. The number of the slaves was very small.

These divisions were not rigid. It is believed that the Kshatriyas, the Brahmans, and the Vaisyas originally formed one social group, and the difference arose much later. The early divisions were based upon colours (*Varna*). But the higher colours were not exclusively white. Non-Aryans have been admitted into these

classes on account of high social position. The theory of occupation marking off the classes cannot be fully established as there are instances of members of the same class following different trades. A Kshatriya, for instance, followed the trade of a potter, a basket-maker, a florist, and a cook. A Brahman in one case takes to trade, in another becomes an assistant to a weaver; and in a third case becomes a wheelwright. There are cases of Brahmans living as hunters and trappers. So neither colour nor occupation is the main basis of caste. In the time of Buddha and before that the caste system does not seem to have acquired the rigidity found nowadays.

The marriage customs among the Aryans depended upon the *Gotra* (group of agnates), and among others on the tribe, or on the village. Marriage could not take place between parties of the same *Gotra*, tribe or village. But there are numerous instances of irregular unions. There were frequent inter-marriages between the different classes. Not only men of higher classes married women of the lower classes, but also women of higher classes were married to men of the lower classes. There has therefore been an intermixture of blood, and there is scarcely any pure Aryan left in India. But in spite of this elasticity in marriage customs it must be remembered that there were many real obstacles to unequal unions. People were guided in their choice by customs, culture and family traditions.

The custom of eating together irrespective of caste and social rank no doubt existed at the time, but in many cases members of higher classes were looked down upon and socially cut off for taking food and drink with the lower classes.

The Brahmans looked up to the Kshatriyas for patronage aad rewards. They did not claim that position of superiority which they now hold. Compared with the Kshatriyas they were "low-born". In the Jain books also the priests were socially beneath the Kshatriya nobles.

The restrictions regarding marriage and food formed the key to the origin of the caste system. But the caste system as it exists implies more than these restrictions. The colour did not distinguish the castes. The word *Jati*, that is, birth, implies that it was based upon social rank at the time of birth. This kind of gradation of the people exists even in Europe and other countries. In the time of Buddha the system did not exist in this form.

V. Towns and buildings.—Towns generally grew up round the palaces of kings. Beyond the palace lay the houses of the ordinary citizens with their bazars and shops, run through by the streets and lanes. The cities were crowded, but the crowding and noise in the suburbs outside the fortification were not such as to interfere with the easy movements of the people. The arrangements for sanitation and drainage existed but they were not very scientific. Drains were constructed to carry off water from bathrooms and chambers as well as to prevent the accumulation of rain water. Dogs and jackals and sometimes men could pass through these drains. Arrangements for the removal of filth and impure things existed within the fortifications.

The real centre of interest was the king's palace, fortified by high walls and rampart, intersected by water-towers and gates, and surrounded by two moats, one of water and the other of mud. It was really a fort

surrounded by a number of suburbs. No information about the length of the fortifications or the area they enclosed is available. Outside the buildings were public streets or parks, and really they were connected with private grounds. There was a large gateway at the entrance, leading to the inner courtyard by a road, on either side of which were the treasury and grain stores. The inner courtyard was fringed on all sides by a series of one-storeyed chambers, and on the flat roof of these chambers the owner erected a pavillion where he used to receive people, hold his office, and to serve dinners. The palace was the dwelling-house of the king and his family, and it very often accommodated the large number of servants and officers, and all the public offices of the state were located within it.

There were three supplementary buildings of great historical importance. References are found to (1) a *Sapta-bhumaka-pasada*, a building of seven storeys, corresponding to the seven-storied Ziggarats of Chaldæa, but not used as a temple for the worship of the stars as in the latter country. There is a seven-storied building at Pulastipura in Ceylon reminding us of the old buildings. The remains of the thousand pillars at Anuradhapur stand as the monument of another such structure. (2) A public gambling hall was an important adjunct of the palace. It was built separately or was a part of the reception hall. It was the duty of the king to provide such a place as it was a source of revenue to the treasury. In a bas-relief at Bharhut tope the scene of an open-air gambling saloon is represented. (3) The hot-air baths were also constructed inside the palace. Some of these baths have been preserved in Anuradhapur in good condition. In the bath there was an

ante-chamber, and a hot room and a tank to bathe in. The arrangements were almost similar to the system of present day "Turkish Baths." These baths were a luxury to the people. The basement was of stone or brick with stone stairs, and railings round the verandah. The roof and walls were of wood covered with skin and plaster.

The extant relics of the old cities and buildings have not as yet been discovered. The only discovery is the stone walls of the hill fortress at Giribraja. Our information is mainly derived from the Buddhist books and the bas-reliefs on the topes of later days. We come across descriptions of underground palaces and palaces of gods, from which some idea of the human dwellings may be formed. The bas-reliefs on the railings and gateways at Bharhut stand out as evidences of the type and nature of the Buddhist architecture. We find there represented the front view of a mansion, a palace of Gods, and various scenes in the life of Buddha. The materials used in the buildings were stone for basements and staircases and sometimes for rails, the walls and roofs were of wood or brick. Fine chunam was used for plastering, and many beautiful frescoes have been painted on them and also bas-reliefs have been raised. The figures and patterns drawn were of various kinds. The common patterns were Wreath-work, Creeper-work, Five-ribbon-work or Dragon's tooth-work, and when the figures appeared more largely it was called *Chitragara* or picture-gallery. The exterior decorations were not perfect but indicate a great progress in the art.

The structures which have been discovered are mainly stupas or dagobas erected over the dead. They

are stately buildings put up as memorials of the great thinkers and teachers. In the early times the dead bodies of the ordinary people were thrown away to be devoured by birds and beasts, but the bodies of distinguished men were cremated, and the ashes were buried under a tope in cemeteries or private grounds or at the crossing of four roads. The early tombs were in the form of cairns or earth-mounds. Gradually they assumed stately shape with the progress of art and civilization. They are not specially Buddhistic; they existed before the time of Buddha. The stupas were later on surrounded by railings with decorations and bas-reliefs. It is a curious thing that most of the monuments of the ancient civilization should be associated with the dead, *e.g.*, the dagobas in India, the pyramids in Egypt.

The Buddhistic culture and civilization was not in any way a departure from the Aryan culture of India. The Buddhistic philosophy was a development of the Sankhya system. The Buddhistic mode of living was purely Aryan, the order of monks was a reorganisation of the old order of Sanyasis and the religion of Buddha was an appeal to reason and charity. The art and architecture of the times reflect this continuity of culture.

CHAPTER VII.

INDIA IN THE FOURTH CENTURY B. C.

Early Magadha.—The Buddhist literature is peculiarly valuable as it presents a somewhat full account of the political and social condition of the sixth century B. C. specially in the case of the United Provinces and Behar. We have already seen that the first historical name in the list of kings is that of Sisunaga, king of Magadha. He became the king in about 642 B. C. Bimbisara was the fifth king in his dynasty. There were about ten kings of this dynasty, continuing their rule almost up to the end of the fifth century B. C. In the time of Buddha the most important kingdoms in Northern India were Magadha and Kosala. Magadha had absorbed Anga, and later on the territory of the Lichchavis. Kosala also annexed the Sakya country shortly after the death of Buddha, and it is believed Ajatasatru conquered Kosala and became the most important king by the end of the sixth century B. C. The eighth king Udaya built the city of Kusumpura near the old Fort of Pataliputra and removed his capital there. He was succeeded by Nandivardhan and Mahanandin.

Persian Invasion.—While Magadha was building up its power in Northern India, the King of Persia was extending his empire up to the banks of the Indus. Darius (521—485 B. C.) sent an expedition under Skylax who succeeded in conquering the Indus valley for his master. Henceforth Persia enjoyed revenue from its Indian satrapy of 360 Euboic talents of gold-dust, that is, about a million sterling. The extent of this

newly acquired territory cannot be exactly determined. It included Sindh and a greater portion of the Punjab on both sides of the Indus from Kalabagh to the Sea. The Indian satrapy not only contributed largely to the treasury of Persia but the Persian army was strengthened by the Indian recruits. When Xerxes fought against Greece he had a large number of Indian archers in his army. The Persian army contained an Indian contingent at the battle of Platæa (479 B. C.). It is presumed that there was constant intercourse between Persia and India, and through Persia with other countries in the west. When Alexander invaded India in 326 B. C. the Persian Empire extended up to the Indus.

Nanda kings.—From the time of Ajatasatru down to the invasion of Alexander we have to depend upon the Puranic lists for a connected account. But we gather very little beyond a list of names. The Sisunaga dynasty comes to an end in about 413 B. C. when the throne of the last king Mahanandin was usurped by Mahapadma Nanda, one of his sons by a Sudra woman. The Nanda kings ruled for 91 years. They were despised by the orthodox Brahmans, and no authentic account about them is therefore available. Mahapadma Nanda was succeeded by his eight sons. The Nanda kings were greedy and accumulated great wealth. The last Nanda king was overthrown by Chandragupta Maurya in about 322 B. C.

Alexander's invasion.—The most remarkable event of this time is the invasion of Alexander. But the Indian literature is quite silent about the incident. It is most probably because people considered it a mere raid by an adventurous chief with a view to plunder,

or because it affected the western part of the Punjab and did not in any way interfere with the more important Indian kingdoms in the east. Alexander also died shortly afterwards and all the vestiges of his conquest were swept away by the Indian chiefs.

Persia under Darius then enjoyed an extensive empire from Asia Minor to the banks of the Indus. By the treaty of 387 B. C. the Grecian cities accepted the Persian king as the arbiter of their destinies. When Philip of Macedon conquered Greece a congress of the Grecian states was held at Corinth, and they declared war against Persia in order to strike a blow at its supremacy. Philip was appointed Generalissimo of the expedition, but he was murdered before he could undertake it. As soon as his son Alexander came to the throne he announced his intention of carrying out his father's plan. He crossed the Hellespont in the spring of 334 B. C. In three and half years he subjugated Asia Minor, conquered Egypt and put himself on the throne of Persia at Susa in 330 B. C. Then he ran over Persian provinces in Central Asia, and in about three years he became master of Hyrcania, Drangiana, Bactria, Sogdiana and other Northern Provinces of the Persian Empire. He crossed the Hindukush in May 327 B. C. and spent a year subjugating the hill tribes of Swat and Bajaur. A part of his army was sent under his generals Hephaiston and Perdikkas in advance towards India. He crossed the Indus at Ohind, 16 miles above Attok in February 326 B. C. Between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhelum) was the kingdom of Taxila. Its king Ambhi was then at war with his neighbours. So he came with rich presents in order that he could enlist the help of Alexander against his enemies. He

became the vassal of the Macedonian king and in return for his presents received from Alexander a large amount of money and many valuable things. On the completion of this alliance between Ambhi and Alexander the king of Abhisara who formed a plan of resisting the invasion in conjunction with Poros sent an embassy offering surrender. Alexander expected that Poros would follow the lead of his ally, and so demanded from him homage and tribute. But Poros was a brave and patriotic king. He prepared to meet Alexander on the field. The Greek army crossed the Hydaspes and met Poros in the plains of Karri. The Indians fought bravely. The elephants were an unmanageable element in the Indian army. When wounded by arrows they ran over both friends and foes alike. The Indians could not stand before the superior cavalry and infantry of the Greeks. They were mercilessly routed. Poros was captured and was received with honour by the conqueror. Alexander was so much impressed with his valour and dignity that he restored to him the conquered territory to the east of the Hydaspes. Then he proceeded towards the east, invaded the countries of the Glausai or Glaukanikoi, and subjugated thirty-seven towns and a large number of villages. Other tribes submitted without any trouble. The conqueror proceeded still further, crossed the Akesines (Chenab), the Hydraotes (Ravi) and reached the banks of the Hyphasis (Beas). On the way he met with the military tribes known as the Kathaioi, Oxydrakai, the Malloi and the Adraistai. The allied tribes selected Sangala as their main stronghold and offered stout resistance to the invading army from there. After a fierce onslaught the stronghold was

razed to the ground. The Greek soldiers refused to cross the Hyphasis in spite of exhortations by the king. Alexander was afraid of the Gangaridæ in the east who had a vast force of large-sized elephants, with trained and equipped forces. So the orders for retreat were given in September 326 B. C. Alexander erected twelve altars on the Hyphasis to mark the furthest point of his march. But no traces of these altars can be found. It is believed that they were set up at the foot of the hills between Indaura in Kangra and Mirthal in Gurdaspore districts.

The retreat was as memorable as his march. The conquered countries between the Hydaspes and the Hyphasis were put under the viceroyalty of Poros. His officers had built a fleet of 2,000 vessels for carrying the troops by the rivers and the sea. Alexander proceeded along the Hydaspes to its confluence with the Akesines. Then he followed the river up to its junction with the Hydraotes. There he confronted a big combination of the local tribes. The Mallois and the Oxydrakai were warlike peoples. They protested against the passage of the Greek troops through their territories. There was a fierce struggle with the Mallois in which Alexander was wounded. But the Indian troops could not stand long against the disciplined army of Alexander, and retreated into a neighbouring town. The Oxydrakai however stood aloof while their allies were worsted. They submitted to Alexander and saved themselves by offering tribute and presents. A Greek Satrap was appointed in the conquered provinces. The fleet then went down the Hydraotes to its confluence with the Hyphasis and then to the confluence of the four rivers with the Indus. King Mousi-kanos of Sindh was severely dealt

with for not sending him envoy and presents. At first he submitted but later on he revolted at the instigation of his Brahman councillors. The king and his advisers were executed for this defection. Then other cities at the mouth of the Indus easily submitted. So practically the Western Punjab and Sindh came under his sway. He appointed his own governors and made arrangements for administration. He stayed for some time at Patala and from there he sent a part of his army under his admiral Nearchos along the coast by boats, and he led the other part to Persia through Gedrosia. He reached Susa in May 324 B. C. and Babylon the next year. There he died of malarial fever at the age of 33 on the 28th June, 323 B. C.

Effects of the invasion.—Alexander spent about nineteen months on the east of the Indus and made necessary arrangements for the continuance of his rule in his absence. He appointed Satraps so that these officers might govern according to his orders. But as soon as he died his plans were upset. The vast empire fell into pieces. Philippos, the Satrap of the Indus valley, had been assassinated before the death of the conqueror. Eudemos was appointed Resident in his place. But within a short time after the death of Alexander the Indian chiefs revolted. In 322 B. C. the Punjab shook off its allegiance and by 317 B. C. the nominal rule in Sindh was put an end to. India became her old self again. The Greek conquest did not produce any lasting effects. Alexander was in spirit an oriental monarch, but he had very little opportunity of proving his administrative capacity in managing his vast dominions from Macedonia to the Puujab. So India did not undergo any change in her political life. Indian society

remained undisturbed. There might have been some intermixture of blood inevitable in cases of military occupation. But as such cases of irregular unions were very few no change of manners and customs could have been expected. The Greek mode of warfare was no doubt of a superior type, but the subsequent Indian wars did not present any marks of improvement. The Indians did not gain by experience. They did not learn the tactics of the Greeks. Art and literature were unaffected. Some historians think that Alexander opened up roads for future invasions from the west. "They broke down the wall of separation between west and east," says V. A. Smith "and opened up four distinct lines of communication, three by land and one by sea. The land routes which he proved to be practicable were those through Kabul, the Mulla Pass in Balochistan and Gedrosia. Nearchos demonstrated that the sea voyage round the coast of Makran offered few difficulties to sailors, once the necessary local information had been gained which he lacked." But another scholar, Mr. E. B. Havell, is of opnion: "Alexander's expeditions did not lead to the opening up of new high ways between east and west, rather the reverse." The Persians had entered India before this, and these routes were known to them. There is again no evidence that the Greek or any other European peoples ever afterwards ventured to follow in the foot-steps of Alexander. The Greek colonists of Bactria and Parthia occupied some part of India later on. But they knew what other neighbouring tribes are expected to know. Whatever the Indians might have learnt from the Greeks that was not the result of the invasions of Alexander into India but it was on account of the existence of the Greek settlements in her neighbourhood.

On the other hand, it is believed that Indian philosophy greatly influenced the Greek thoughts and culture. A number of Indian scholars went to Greece and Asia Minor and there the ideas of the East gradually percolated. "The influence of Buddhist ideas in Christian doctrine may be traced," says, V. A. Smith, "in the Gnostic forms of Christianity if not elsewhere. The motives of Indian philosophy and religion which filtered into the Roman empire flowed through channels opened by Alexander."

Condition of India in the Fourth Century B. C.—The invasion of Alexander has been important in another way. He was accompanied by a large number of scholars and historians who recorded various information regarding India. It is from the fragments of their writings that a full account of the civilization, manners and customs of the people and their political condition has been drawn up. India was then divided into a number of small states, mostly monarchies and some republics. About twenty years after the invasion Megasthenes stated that there were 118 distinct nations or tribes. There was no paramount power in India. The states were constantly at feud, one trying to absorb another. Ambhi of Taxila submitted to Alexander with a view to punish the king of Abhisara and Poros. The republics were strongly defended by the free Malavas and Kshudrakas (Malloi and Oxydrakai). The citizens of the republics were very jealous of their freedom and self-government and they did not easily yield. As a matter of fact Alexander received the stoutest opposition from them. The Indians were strong and brave soldiers. But they lacked in combination and there was no good general among them to match with Alexander.

Although India was divided into a number of small states, there was full intercourse between the different parts of the country. Elephants were brought from such distant parts as Anga, Kalinga, Saurashtra and Bundelkhund. Gold, diamonds, pearls and other gems came from such places in the south as Tamraparni, Madura and Ceylon. Textile fabrics came from Benares, Madura and the Konkan. There were ordnances to regulate trade with foreign countries. Coins were in common use but they were of primitivs type. Strabo the historian mentions some strange customs of the country. The poor parents used to sell their daughters at the market place after exposing their body in the flower of their age. The dead were thrown out to be devoured by the vultures. It was not universal for a man to have many wives. The widows were burned along with their dead husbands. The king of Taxila made a present of 3,000 oxen fattened for shambles. It is presumed from this that even at that time people used to slaughter cattle for entertaining distinguished guests.

Taxila then occupied an important position. It was the greatest centre of learning. Princes and sons of well-to-do Brahmans were sent there for finishing their education. Here three Vedas and the eighteen accomplishments were taught. The university of Taxila was specially reputed for its medical school. There were good arrangements for teaching all arts and sciences under distinguished professors.

The Punjab had attained a high degree of material civilization. The religion of the people was Brahminical, although there were followers of Zoroaster and worshippers of fire. The Greeks mention the names of Indra, Balarama and the Ganges as the gods worshipped

by the people. The Brahmans were no longer inferior to the Kshatriyas. They had assumed a position of authority. They were the chief councillors of the kings and even in the republic of the Malavas they received special treatment. Some trees were held sacred, the Brahmans used to take flesh but the taking of beef was a sin. This picture of Indian society is interesting as it continues almost in this state up to the present time.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE RISE OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE.

Rise of an empire in India —Shortly after the departure of Alexander a strong empire was established in India. The smaller kingdoms and states were brought together under one throne, and the north-west frontiers were protected against foreign invasions. India has several times been invaded by foreign armies on account of the existence of constant friction between her different states and races. The consolidation of the whole of Northern India under one suzerain authority led to internal peace and prosperity and freedom from external raids. The process of consolidation had commenced with the growth of the power of Magadha. Alexander heard of the powerful Gangaridae in the east, that is, of the powerful kingdom in the Ganges Valley. and his retreat was due partly to the dread of these people. Magadha had extended its dominions up to Mathura by the time of Ajatasatru by annexing the kingdom of Kosala and other northern states. The Nanda kings were not popular. A young prince of the dynasty was in exile in the Punjab when Alexander was carrying on his campaigns. On the death of Alexander the Greek outposts in the Punjab were in danger. The Indians revolted against the Greeks under the leadership of Chandragupta, the exiled prince from Magadha. The Greeek garrisons fell into the hands of Chandragupta. and he became the master of the Punjab in 322 B.C. He took advantage of another revolution in Magadha. With the aid of a Brahman politician Vishnugupta, he deposed Dhana Nanda and slew him and occupied his

throne. He thus became the monarch of the vast country from the Indus to the Ganges. The smaller states were brought under the stern rule of a wise king. Anarchy and misrule disppeared and a strong government was established. He increased the army and overran the country between the Himalayas and the Narmada, and the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. His army consisted of 30,000 cavalry, 9,000 elephants and 600, 000 infantry and innumerable chariots.

Invasion of Seleukos.—On the death of Alexander his empire was divided among his generals. But they quarrelled among themselves for supremacy. Antigonos and Seleukos were the rival candidates for supremacy in Asia. In the beginning Antigonos managed to maintain his position, but he was defeated by Seleukos in 312 B. C. who was henceforth known as Seleukos Nikator or Seleukos the conquercr. It took him about six years in regaining his position in Persia and other countries. In 305 B. C, he led an expedition into India. He expected that like Alexander he would scatter the forces of the Indian chiefs. But he was met by the strong army of Chandragupta. The Greeks were defeated and Seleukos was forced to cede several provinces on the west of the Indus including the Paropanisadai, Aria, Arachosia, and Gedrosia, upto the Hindu Kush mountains. Besides he had to give his daughter in marriage to Chandragupta. The treaty was concluded in about 303 B. C. The empire of Magadha reached its scientific frontier. Seleukos sent Megasthenes as an ambassador to the Court of Patailputra. Henceforth the two great kings of Magadha and Syria remained in amity.

Last days of Chandragupta.—Chandragupta may

thus be called the first Emperor of India. He was the first successful monarch to bring about the unity of Northern India and to maintain the independence of the country against foreign encroachments. The success of his administration is mainly due to the statesmanship of his minister Vishnugupta better known as Chanakya or Kautilya. The country was visited by a severe famine in 298 B. C. The king abdicated in favour of his son Bindusara, and retired into the south along with some Jain ascetics, and the tradition goes that he starved himself to death after 12 years in Sravana Belgola on the border of Mysore.

The literature of the period.—The history of the period is clouded with too many legends. The Brahman literature is silent about Chandragupta most probably because Buddhism prospered under the Maurya dynasty. But there can be no doubt that his exploits found an important place in the tradition of the country as in the 8th century A. D. his career was taken up as the plot of the well-known Sanskrit drama *Mudra-Rakshasa*. His name appears mostly in the Buddhist chronicles. Nothing has been found from the epigraphic records as yet discovered. The Rudradaman inscription at Girnar mentions Pushyagupta who was a governor of Chandragupta in the western provinces. Sir William Jones identified Sandracottus of the Greek writers with Chandragupta and since then the information supplied by the Greek writers has been connected with the historic materials of the Buddhist literature and the *Mudra-Rakshasa*. The publication of Kautilya's *Arthasastra* written by the astute politician Chanakya has helped the scholars in making a comprehensive survey of the political

condition of the times. The *Arthasastra* is a treatise on the principles of administration in a monarchic state and there are occasional references to the republics. It describes no doubt an ideal state of things but the ideals set forth there may be taken as the picture of the existing condition. The ordnances and regulations of the *Arthasastra* were the political principles recognised by the Indo-Aryan governments, and they are considered even now as breathing a spirit of sound statesmanship. That they were actually followed by Chandragupta and his descendants is corroborated by Megasthenes and other Greek writers who visited India at the time.

Nature of Chandragupta's government.—Pataliputra was the capital of the empire, and governors were appointed for the distant provinces. The city of Pataliputra was administered by a Municipal Board of thirty members divided into six committees consisting of five members each. It is believed that this kind of Municipal government might have been introduced into other cities of the empire. The Central Government was very strong and the provincial satraps were regular in their duties. The monarch was served by a highly organised staff of news-carriers who reported to him about the doings of his officers. The vast army of trained soldiers was a dread to the evil-doers. The details about the provincial and village government are not available, but there is nothing to show that the old governments were altogether subverted or that the people in the villages were deprived of their communal rights. "The government of Chandragupta," says Mr. E. B. Havell, "was a continuation and extension of a process of political amalgamation which had been going

on for centuries before Alexander's raid gave it a new impetus. The republican form of government which obtained among many of the Aryan tribes was not suppressed, though in Kautilya it is regarded as a source of political weakness. Neither were the traditional village communities nor their powers of local self-government altogether ignored in the bureaucratic control set up by the Mauryan imperial government for the purpose of removing the weakness of Indo-Aryan polity, which had been revealed by the success of Alexander's invasion."

Chandragupta was an autocrat, but he had to depend upon the good-will of the people. His ministers were all able men, and he could not override their advice. It was not merely because he was a powerful monarch that the throne remained for such a long time in the possession of his dynasty. As long as a monarch rules in the interest of the people according to the tenets of the Dharmasastras and with the advice of wise and learned ministers his government remains acceptable to the people. The Arthasastra distinctly mentions the virtues requisite in a minister, who is not a mere tool in the hands of the king. "Chandragupta's will may have been law within his empire, but he was none the less a constitutional monarch bound by the common law of Aryavarta" says Mr. Havell.

The Central Government.—The supreme control of the administration was vested in the King in Council. The number of members of the Council varied according to the requirements of the times. Each minister was severally put in charge of a department, and he was assisted by two subordinate ministers in his executive duties. The Council had the joint responsibility in the

matter of finance, foreign affairs and other important subjects. The Council could carry on its deliberations in the absence of the king. The appointments of the provincial governors, the heads of the departments, and the principal officers of the state were made by the Council. The policy of government was framed by it, and if a member was absent from the meeting his opinion was given in writing. The resolutions were recorded, and signed and sealed by the ministers according to the order of precedence. Here we have all the formalities of a constitutional government. "All kinds of administrative measures are preceded by deliberations in a well-formed council" says Kautilya.

Duties of the King.—The king had to lead a regulated life. The day and the night were each divided into eight equal parts (*nalikas*) and he had to attend to fixed duties in each part. Thus in the first part of the day he despatched watchmen, and attended to the accounts of revenue and expenditure. In the second part he looked to the affairs of citizens and the people. The third part he spent in bath, dinner and study. In the fourth part the revenues were received and the king attended to the appointment of high officers. In the fifth part he attended to correspondence with the ministers and gathered information from his secret service. The sixth period he kept for himself, for amusements or deliberation. In the seventh period he looked after the elephants, horses, chariots and infantry, in the eighth he considered with the commander-in-chief the plans of military operations. His night was also equally divided. In the first part he received secret emissaries, the second he spent in bathing, supper and study. The third, fourth, and fifth part of the night he spent in his bed-chamber. He was

roused up in the sixth part, and in the seventh part he had to consider the administrative measures, and to send out spies. In the eighth part he received benidictions from the priests, saw the chief household officers and then went to court. This time-table could be altered when necessary, according to the urgency of business.

Kautilya insists upon attending personally to the business of the petitioners, specially to the business of God, of heretics, Brahmans, cattle, sacred places, minors, the aged, the afflicted, the helpless and the women according to the nature of these works. When attending to the business of physicians and ascetics he must sit round the sacred fire in company with his high priest and teacher.

"In the happiness of his subjects lies his happiness; in their welfare his welfare; whatever pleases himself he shall not consider as good, but whatever pleases his subjects he shall consider as good" (Arthasastra, Book 1, Chapter 19).

Functions of the Government.—The Government had many functions besides maintaining peace and order. Legislation did not form a part of the state duties. The Dharmasastras were the principal law books, and the scholars versed in the Vedas and the sciences were the interpreters of law. The administration of justice was carried on by three scholars acquainted with Sacred Laws and three ministers of the king. The courts were held at places where several districts met. There were a large number of officials for the collection of revenue, for collecting news, and for the superintendence of the industrial domains. The state had a regular staff for carrying on agriculture, mining operations,

manufactures of cotton, liquor arms and ammunition, chariots and various other commodities; for the management of forests, supervision of commerce and for the protection of elephant-forests and looking after the elephants and horses in the royal stable and the cattle and other useful animals. There were also special officers for maintaining weights and measures, issuing passports, and collecting tolls. The conduct and activities of these officers were systematically watched by the secret service men and reported to the king. They were severely dealt with for offences of misrule or dishonesty. The reports of the spies were not accepted until corroborated from other sources.

The kingdom was divided into four Provinces which were sub-divided into districts and villages. The Collector-General was the chief officer of the Revenue Department. For a group of five or ten villages there was an accountant called *Gopa*. The officer of the Province was known as *Sthanika*. Special officers were also deputed by the Collector-General to inspect the work of the provincial and the village officers and to collect the special religious tax known as *Bali*. The duties of the *Gopa* were very important. He had to fix the boundaries of the villages, to keep a register of the householders and their lands with descriptions of the plots of grounds such as cultivated, uncultivated, forests, cremation grounds, pasture lands, places of pilgrimage and various other information. He had also to note the number of men following different professions, and to keep an account of the villagers regarding their character, occupation, income and expenditure. The register that the *Gopa* had to keep was a full survey of the economic and social condition of the people, and was

expected to supply accurate information to the state. The system could have been followed in a perfectly organised state, where people also have sufficient knowledge of public duties.

Municipal Government.—The *Sthanika* supervised the work of the village officers like the modern District Officer. Besides the collection of revenue these officers were entrusted with several duties of administration. The arrival and departure of persons of doubtful character were regularly watched and all cases of corruption and dishonesty reported by the spies. The cities had a similar staff of officials. Chandragupta made an improvement upon the old system of city government. The Greek ambassador Megasthenes informs us that Pataliputra was managed by a Municipal Board consisting of thirty members. The Board was sub-divided into six Committees of five members each for the management of separate departments. An enumeration of the Committees with their respective duties will show how the machinery of municipal administration was organised. The first Committee was something like a *Board of Labour* which fixed the wages, enforced laws for the use of pure materials, and in a general way looked after the welfare of the artisans. There were strict laws for the preservation of the efficiency of craftsmen. The second Committee watched the interests of the *Aliens and the Visitors*. Elaborate arrangements were made for lodging them, and giving medical and other aids when necessary. This shows that there were a large number of foreigners residing in Pataliputra in that time. The third Committee dealt with *Vital Statistics*, and kept the register of births and deaths. The fourth Committee was a *Board of Trade and Commerce* which regulated

sales, and weights and measures, It also granted license to traders who had to pay taxes according to the nature and amount of business. The fifth Committee was a *Board of Industries* regulating manufactures and sale of commodities. There was a strict regulation to separate the old goods from the new so that customers were not deceived. The sixth Committee was entrustsd with the task of collecting a tithe of the value of goods. All sellers had to pay a duty, the evasion of which was punishable with death.

It is presumed that the administration of other cities such as Taxila, and Ujjain, followed the lines of Pataliputra. The Municipal Board also performed certain other duties in their collective capacity such as the supervision of the markets, temples, harbours and the public works. Kautilya mentions that there was an officer in charge of the capital known as *Nagaraka*. He gives a detailed description of the way in which the people in the capital lived. The regulations regarding the sojourn of the strangers were very strict, and the sumptuary laws extended over all the departments of a household.

Organisation of the Army.—The army was organised on the old method. It consisted of the infantry, the cavalry, the elephantry and the chariotry. Chandragupta greatly increased the strength of his army, which included 600,000 foot soldiers, 30,000 horses, 8,000 chariots, 9,000 elephants.

The administration of the army was vested in a Board of thirty members divided into six departments managed by five members each. The departments were as follows :—1, Admiralty: 2, Transport, Commissariat and Army service; 3, Infantry; 4, Cavalry; 5, War-

chariots, and 6, Elephants. The troops were either hereditary or hired. The commander-in-chief had the entire control of the army and directed the operations in the field. The king used to consult him about the defence of the country. There were forts of various kinds scattered throughout the country. A fortress of the *Sthaniya* type was set up in the centre of eight hundred villages, of *Drona-mukha* type in the centre of four hundred villages, of *Kharvatika* type in the centre of two hnndred villages, and of *Sangrahana* type in the centre of ten villages. Besides, there were fortifications in the extremities of the kingdom, on mountains or in islands. These forts were constructed on sound scientific principles. Each fort had twelve gates, and a secret land and water way. Inside the fort there ran three royal roads from west to east and three from south to north. Besides, there were special roads for chariots, and elephants, and roads leading to other forts and important places. The harbours and shipyards for river and ocean-going vessels were constructed at suitable places. It is on account of this efficient organisation of the army that Chandragupta succeeded in consolidating his empire and in warding off the Greek invaders.

Sources of income of the State.—The principal sources of revenue were according to Kautilya, forts (*durga*), country-parts (*rashtra*), mines (*khani*), buildings and gardens (*setu*), forests (*vana*), herds of cattle (*vraja*), and roads of traffic. Under the head of forts were tolls, fines, duties on the trade-guilds, the profit of coinage, and such things. Produce from crown lands, government share in the produce, religious taxes, taxes paid in money, road cess, and income

of ferries and other state services were put under the head of country-parts. Income from gold, silver und other minerals came under the head of mines. Income from flour, fruit aud vegetable gardens was considered as *setu*. Forests used for games, timber or elephants also were a source of revenue. Cows, buffaloes, horses and other animals came under the head of herds. Land and the water ways were the roads of traffic. All these yielded income to the state. To put them in the phraseology of finance the main sources of revenue were the revenue from the crown lands, forests and gardens, income from the mines and industries, license duties on trade and manufactures, cesses of various kinds, and taxes on land. If the income at any time were not sufficient for tha various charges of the government then the king could raise benevolences.

There is a controversy over the question of land revenue. We found that in the fifth century B. C. land belonged to the community and not to the state, which was entitled to a share of the produce for services rendered, and not on account of any right in the land. But it seems the king acquired a proprietary right as he extended his territory and made new conquests. He reclaimed forests and created new settlements over his crown lands. The income from these lands was strictly his revenue. It seems however that there were villages of various types, *e. g.*, villages exempt from taxation, villages supplying soldiers, villages paying taxes in kind or gold, and villages supplying labour or dairy produce in lieu of taxes. (Arthasastra, Book II, Chapter 35). People enjoyed land not always as a tenant of the king. To some the king was the head of the tribe. In their cases, the land was the property of the community.

Even when the king gradually asserted his rights as landlord we do not find that the old occupants were ejected from their lands. It has been held as a gross violation of rights to interfere with the property of the people. The cultivators of the crown lands paid the king as much as they could without entailing any hardship upon themselves with the exception of their own private lands that were difficult to cultivate. (Arthasastra, Book II. Ch. 24). The expression "private lands" clearly shows that people had proprietary right in some lands, and that the ultimate property in land was vested in the state is a thing of later history.

There was a regular system of keeping the accounts and for their audit. Embezzlement of funds and dishonesty on the part of revenue collectors was a grave offence and the culprits were severely punished.

General condition of the people.—The Greek ambassador Megasthenes has left much valuable information regarding the country. The greatest city of India was Pataliputra at the confluence of the Sone and the Ganges. It was about 10 miles in length and 2 miles in breadth, and surrounded on all sides by a ditch 600 feet in breadth and 30 cubits in depth. There were 570 towers above the ramparts and 64 gates of the city. The people were free and not one of them was a slave. The king was attended by women servants in the palace, and when he came out these attendants accompanied him. The king provided irrigation works for the improvement of agriculture and facilities were provided for industrial development. The roads were in good order, and mile-stones were set up at the interval of 10 Stadia (2022½ yards.) The north-western frontier was connected with the capital by a

grand trunk road. All the information available bear testimony to a high degree of civilization in India. People were generally honest. Crimes were rare. Megasthenes heard of very small thefts in the capital of 400,000 persons, amounting in the aggregate not more than 200 *drachmas* (about £8/-). The pay of the officers ranged from 48,000 silver *panas* a year for the heir-apparent to 50 *panas* for a labourer. The king constructed many works of public utility out of the public revenue, and provided land and other necessary things for construction of other works such as reservoirs, places of pilgrimage and groves by the people. The rules of co-operation among the people in public works and trade and industry were very strict. This shows that the public life was highly organised.

Chandragupta built an empire unique in its kind in India. It may be that he borrowed some ideas from the neighbouring empire of Persia, which at one time extended from the Mediterranean to the banks of the Indus. But the ideals of Chandragupta's government were purely Indo-Aryan. The remains of architecture found in the excavations at Kumrahar do not conclusively prove that the Indian buildings were modelled on Persian style. The marks of intermixture of culture may not be wanting, and this is nothing extraordinary. The neighbouring peoples are sure to influence each other.

Bindusara (297–272 B. C.)

Chandragupta was succeeded by his son Bindusara in 297. The details about the administration of Bindusara are not available. It is inferred from his title of Amitrochates (*Sanskrit Amitraghata*) which

means slayer of foes that he was a brave and successful soldier. He maintained the empire in good order. Most probably thc Deccan was conquered by him. The only conquest made by Asoka was Kalinga, but his empire extended upto Mysore. Chandragupta ruled the country from Kathiawar to Magadha and so it is concluded that the rest of Asoka's empire must have been conquered by his father. Antiochos, the son of Seleukos, sent an embassy under Deimachos, and Ptolemy Philadelphus of Egypt sent anothor under Dionysios to the court of Pataliputra. The fame of the Indian empire spread far into the Western countries in the time of Chandragupta and the foreign kings maintained the old relations. Bindusara was anxious to extend the relations with the West by importing Greek philosophers.

CHAPTER IX.

ASOKA (272—232 B. C.)

Asoka was the Viceroy of Taxila and Ujjain during the reign of his father Bindusara. He was selected as *Yuvaraja* or heir-apparent on account of his ability and fitness. He was residing at Ujjain when his father fell ill and he was summoned from there to the bed-side of the dying king to step into the throne. The succession, however, was contested by his eldest brother Susima in vain and after four years the coronation of Asoka took place in 269 B. C. He ruled the country for about forty years from 272 B. C. to 232 B. C. It was a peaceful administration which made the people happy and prosperous.

Kalinga War.—In the ninth year from his coronation or the thirteenth year of his reign Asoka invaded Kalinga, the country between the Mahanadi and the Godavari. The people of Kalinga did not easily yield, and the war has been commemorated in the Rock Edict XIII from which we learn "One hundred and fifty thousand persons were thence carried away captive, and many times that number perished."

The war, however, marked the turning point in the life of the emperor. The slaughter, death and imprisonment of the large number of persons brought remorse into his heart. At this critical period he met the Buddhist monk Upagupta, and his teachings produced a great impression upon him. Henceforth he became a

follower of Buddha. He remained a lay disciple for two years and a half, and then he joined the Order and strenuously exerted himself for the attainment and spread of *Dhamma*. He gave up war and considered the spread of the *Dhamma* as true conquest.

His proclamations.—The exertions of Asoka succeeded in making the precepts of Buddha acceptable throughout the land. He sent missionaries in all directions, and inscribed the teachings on rocks and pillars at the wayside places.

These inscriptions supply the most important information for a history of his administration. The Indian literature has no reference to this great monarch, and we gather some idea of his life and character from the Ceylonese chronicles, the *Dipavamsa* and the *Mahavamsa* written in the third and fourth centuries of the Christian era. In about this time Buddha Ghosa, a Brahman from Behar, went to Ceylon and collected the traditions there which he embodied in Pali in his commentaries on the *Vinaya* The other source of information is the *Asoka-Avadana* written in Sanskrit, preserved in Nepal. All these books are full of legendary accounts, and it is a difficult task to compile a correct narrative from them. The historical importance of the inscriptions therefore can not be exaggerated. They are a genuine record of the instructions of the king to his officers and subjects. Although they do not contain sufficient details they enable us to form a correct estimate of his administration and character.

The edicts have been found inscribed on rocks in such distant places as Shahbazgarhi and Mansera in the North-West Frontier, Girnar in Kathiwar, Dhauli in Orissa, Jaugad in Ganjam, Kalsi near Mussoorie, and

Sopara in the Bombay Presidency. These rock edicts are fourteen in number. The minor rock edicts found at Bairat in Rajputana, Rupnath in the Central Provinces, Sahasram in Behar, and Siddapura in Mysore were probably issued earlier in about 257 B. C. The Bhabru Edict, which was discovered on the top of a hill near Bairat, was addressed to the Buddhist Order at the same time as the Minor Rock Edict No. 1. Asoka issued instructions to his officials in the newly conquered province of Kalinga in two special edicts in about 256 B. C. A few inscriptions have been found in the caves of Barabar Hill near Gaya which record the presentation of cave dwellings to the Ajivikas, a sect of Jains, in the thirteenth and twentieth years of his reign (257 and 250 B. C.). In the twenty-first year of his reign Asoka went on a pilgrimage to the places associated with the memory of Buddha. He was accompanied by Upagupta and a large number of Buddhist Bhikshus. He erected pillars in the places he visited, and on some of those pillars he recorded the information of his visit. The pillars at Rummindei and Nigliva are two such commemorative monuments in the Nepal Terai. The seven Pillar Edicts were issued in the twenty-seventh and twenty-eighth years of his reign (243 and 242 B. C.) for the benefit of the people within his kingdom. Pillars bearing edicts have been found at Delhi, Meerut, Allahabad, Lauriya-Araraj, Lauria-Nandan Garh and Rampurwa in the Champaran district of Behar, and at Sanchi in Bhopal State. A Buddhist Council was held at Pataliputra in 240 B. C. and shortly afterwards edicts were issued denouncing schism in the Church. The inscriptions discovered at Sarnath and Sanchi bear evidence of an active propa-

ganda to stop Church dissensions. Two more inscriptions have been found at Allahabad which were probably recorded in the twenty-seventh year of his reign or later.

xtent of the empire.—An idea of the extent of the empire may be formed from the distribution of the edicts, from the internal evidence of the inscriptions, and from literary and historical traditions. The whole of India excluding the extreme South and Assam, Afganistan, Baluchistan, and probably Khotan were comprised within his empire. His powers extended over Nepal, Kashmir and other border lands. Although he was the supreme ruler over this vast empire it is believed that there existed a number of autonomous states within it owing allegiance to the sovereign power. These states enjoyed freedom in their internal affairs, but in all other matters they submitted to the Emperor.

Form of Government.—Asoka was a benevolent monarch always anxious to do good to his people. "Work I must for the public benefit and the root of the matter is in exertion and dispatch of business, than which nothing is more efficacious for the general welfare. And for what do I toil? For no other end than this, that I may discharge my debts to animate beings, and that while I make some happy in this world, they may in the next world gain heaven." (Rock Edict VI). He was so studious about the welfare of the people that he enjoined his official reporters to keep him informed of the people's business at all hours and in all places. He kept strict watch over the activities of his officials and the Buddhist monks. The subjects were looked upon as children, and the officials as

skilful nurses. In the Pillar Edict IV he says : " Commissioners have been appointed by me to rule over many hundred thousand persons of the people, and to them I have granted independence in the award of honours and penalties, in order that they may in security and without fear perform their duties, and bestow welfare and happiness on the people of the country and confer benefits on them." The Kalinga Edict contains a passage which shows that the officers had to consult the people periodically in an Assembly specially called for the purpose. A separate Assembly was called at each of the provincial capitals, (at Tosali, Ujjain and Taxila.) The Assembly at Tosali was called every five years and at Ujjain and Taxila every three years. It was practically a parliamentry system of government. The king ruled according to the Law of Piety. He directed his officials to follow the Law of Piety and to pursue the public welfare in the way desired by the people.

People's rights to justice were safeguarded in a passage in the Kalinga Edict : " There are again individuals who have been put into prison or to torture. You must be at hand to stop unwarranted imprisonment or torture. Again, many there are who suffer acts of violence. It should be your desire to set such people in the right way. " Provisions of Habeas Corpus in England do not protect the rights of the people in a better way. His solicitude for the people was extended to the border tribes as well. He issued instructions to the officials at Samapa : "If you ask what is the king's will concerning the border tribes, I reply that my will is this concerning the borderers that they should be convinced that the king desires them to be free from disquietude. I desire them to trust me and to be assured

that they will receive from me happiness, not sorrow, and to be convinced that the king bears them good-will; and I desire that (whether to win my good-will or merely to please me) they should practise the Law of Piety, and so gain both this world and the next."

The resolutions and promises of the king were immutable, and the instructions to the officials were not private. They were recited at every Tishya Nakshatra festival and at suitable intervals. The people were fully informed of the wishes of the king and the way in which they would be governed. Such public announcements were made with a view to ensure confidence in the government.

The officials were warned not to disregard the king's instructions and specially to avoid certain dispositions which render success impossible, *viz.*, envy, lack of perseverance, hardness, impatience, want of application, idleness and indolence. Such instructions would not be quite out of place even in the most advanced states of the modern times. A systematic attempt was thus made to introduce good government throughout the empire, in the old territory as well as in the newly acquired provinces.

The Lieges, Commissioners and the District Officers were required to attend the General Assembly every five years. In these meetings they discussed the public questions, and specially they received instructions from the Buddhist teachers in the Law of Piety. He had a special staff of high officials known as Dharma Mahamatara (Censors of the Law of Piety). These officers were appointed in the fourteenth year of the reign with a view to promote the establishment of piety, the progress of piety, and the welfare and happiness of the

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people in the country as will as on the borders ; to prevent wrongful imprisonment or punishment ; to administer relief to men with large families, or smitten with any calamity or advanced in years ; and to superintend the fèmale establishments of the king's brothers, sisters and female relatives. The king thus provided for the material and spiritual welfare of the people. He stopped with a sternness any oppression on the part of the officials. The poor, sick and the aged received help. Hospitals were established both for men and beasts. Medicinal herbs, and roots and fruits were planted in the country and whenever they were not found in the country were imported from other countries. Trees were planted on the roads, and wells were dug for the use of men and beasts.

Asoka issued injunctions against the slaughter of animals. He forbade animal-sacrifices and the slaughter of animals for feasts and food. In the Pillar Edict V he mentioned the names of animals which were specially exempted from slaughter. On a number of specified days animals could not be castrated or branded.

His principles of government are summed up in the Pillar Edict I : " For this is the rule—protection according to the Law of Piety, regulations by that law, felicity by that law, and security by that law." The king's rosolutions and instructions were not mere pious wishes. He recounts with pleasure the good deeds he performed in the Pillar Edict VII.

" By what means there can mankind be induced to obey ? by what means can mankind develop the growth of piety according to expectations ? by what means can I raise up at least some of them so to develop the growth of piety ?

"Therefore, thus sayeth His Majesty King Piyadasi :—

"This thought occurred to me :—I will cause sermons on the Law of Piety to be preached, and with instructions in that law will I instruct, so that men hearkening thereto may obey, raise themselves up, and greatly develop the growth of piety.

"For this purpose I have sermons on the Law of Piety to be preached, I have disseminated various instructions on that law, and I have appointed agents among the multitude to expound and develop my teaching.

"Commissioners have been appointed by me over many thousands of souls with instructions to expound my teaching in such and such a manner among the lieges.

"Considering further the same purpose, I have set up pillars of the Law, I have appointed Censors of Law, and preached sermons on the Law of Piety.

"On the roads I have had banyan-trees planted to give shade to man and beast, I have groves of mango-trees planted, at every half *kos*, I have had wells dug; rest-houses have been erected ; and numerous watering places have been prepared here and there for the enjoyment of man and beast.

"That so-called enjoyment, however, is a small matter.

"With various blessings have former kings blessed the world even as I have done, but in my case it has been done, solely with the intent that men may yield obedience to the Law of Piety.

"My Censors of the Law of Piety are occupied with various charitable institutions with ascetics, house-

holders, and all the sects; I have also arranged that they should be occupied with the affairs of the Buddhist clergy, as well as with the Brahmans, the Jains, the Ajivikas, and in fact, with all the various sects.

"The several ordinary magistrates shall severally superintend their particular charges, whereas the Censors of the Law of Piety shall superintend all sects as well as such special charges.

"These and many other high officials are employed in the distribution of the royal alms, both my own and those of the queens; and in all the royal households both at the capital and in the provinces these officers indicate in divers ways the manifold opportunities for charity.

"The same officials are also employed by me in the distribution of the alms of my wives' sons and of the queens' sons, in order to promote pious acts and the practice of piety. For pious acts and the practice of piety depend on the growth among men of compassion, liberality, truth, purity, gentleness, and goodness.

"Whatever meritorious deeds I have done, those deeds the people have copied and will imitate, whence follows the consequence that growth is now taking place and will further increase in the virtues of obedience to father, and mother, obedience to teachers, reverence to the aged, and kindly treatment of Brahmans and ascetics, of the poor and wretched, yea, even of slaves and servants,

"This growth of piety among men has been effected by two means, namely, by pious regulations and by meditation. Of these two means pious regulations are of small account, whereas meditation is of greater value.

"Nevertheless, I have passed pious regulations forbidding the slaughter of such and such animals, and other regulations of the sort. But the effect of meditation is seen in the greater growth of piety among men, and the more complete abstention from injury to animate creatures and from slaughter of living beings."

This edict was ordered to be written in the twenty-eighth year of his reign and inscribed on stone pillars and tablets throughout his dominions.

Spread of Buddhism.—The religion of Buddha was preached by the Bhikshus among the people. It was gradually changing the thoughts of the people, it is not easy to say what progress it made during the previous two centuries and a half. Asoka's efforts in preaching the precepts to the people proved extremely successful. Buddhism became the universal religion in India. Missionaries were also sent to other lands. The proclamations of the king and his patronage to the missionaries who went to every corner of India immensely furthered the Buddhist movement. The gospel was carried to far off Syria, Egypt, Macedonia, Epirus, Cyrene, and to the neighbouring countries, such as Ceylon, and among the Cholas and the Pandyas in the South, the Andhras, the Pulindas and the Bhojas and the Pitinikas in the Southern Peninsula, the Yonas (Yavanas) and the Kambojas in the North-West.

The Ceylonese Chronicles confirm the information of the Inscriptions. Tissa, the son of Moggali, was the president of the third Buddhist Council held at Pataliputra in about 340 B. C. He sent missionaries to Kashmir, Gandhara and to the Himalayan region (Nepal or Tibet) probably under the orders of the king. The Northern Chronicles mention Upagupta as the chief

missionary. Most probably the two names refer to the same person. Each party consisted of a leader and four assistants. In the topes at and near Sanchi names of the three great missionuries, Majjhima, Kassapa-gotta and Dundubhissara have been discovered. Both the chronicles and the inscriptions on the urns tell us that these teachers were sent to the Himalayan region. The Chronicles do not contain any information regarding the dispatch of missionaries to Greece or other Western countries.

The most important event according to the Chronicles was the mission of Mahendra, Asoka's brother, and of his sister Sanghamitra to Ceylon. Sanghamitra carried a branch of the sacred Bodhi Tree from Gaya and planted it at Anuradhapur. This incident has been represented in two bas-reliefs on the Sanchi Gateway. King Tissa of Ceylon became a convert to Buddhism. He helped Mahendra and his sister to spread the religion in the island. An Order of monks and another of nuns were formed, and the brother and the sister spent the rest of their lives there. It is told that the Stupa at Mihintale was erected over the ashes of Mahendra.

Pilgrimage to the sacred places.—In company with Upagupta the king went on a pilgrimage to all the places connected with the memory of Buddha in 249 B. C. The party proceeded from Pataliputra to Nepal through Mozafferpur and Champaran along the route marked by monolithic pillars at Bakhira, Lauriya-Araraja, Lauriya-Nandangarh and Rampurwa. First he visited Lumbini Garden where Buddha was born. An inscribed pillar commemorating the events was erected on the spot. Then the party went to Kapilavastu, the capital of the

Sakyas, among whom Buddha spent his childhood. Other places visited were Bodh Gaya where Buddha attained nirvan, Sarnath near Benares where he preached his first sermon, Sravasti on the Rapti where he spent a number of years, and Kusinara, the place of Mahaparinirvan or the great decease. In all these places Asoka erected memorial pillars, and distributed largesses. The king gave up the tours of pleasure in which hunting and other amusements were practised, and instead undertook tours devoted to piety in which the ascetics, Brahmans and elders were visited, endowments and largesses were given to them, the questions of the country and the people were studied, and the law of piety was proclaimed and discussed. The rulers and governors of the present day may very well follow this ideal.

The Law of Piety.—Asoka always exalted the Law of Piety which consisted in the kind treatment of slaves and servants, obedience to father and mother, charity to ascetics and Brahmans and respect for the sanctity of life. He exhorted the people to shun manifold worthless and corrupt ceremonies and to live according to the Law of Piety in order to obtain happiness in this world and in the next. He always appealed to the practical aspect of the Law: "Even for a person to whom lavish liberality is impossible, the virtues of mastery over the senses, purity of mind, gratitude, and fidelity are always meritorious" (Rock Edict VII). The Law was the ultimate standard of all actions. Nothing was considered to possess merit unless it was according to the law of Piety. An undue emphasis was however laid upon the pleasures of the next world, which injured the position of Buddhism as an intellectual and moral creed. It made a compromise with Brahmanism. Buddha gradually became the

Supreme Deity, ruling over the Devas whose influence upon the destinies of mankind he himself had denied. It is generally believed that Buddhism lost its purity when it was preached among the peoples in different countries. Asoka rightly said that even the small man could win heavenely bliss by exertions. "Let small and great exert themselves to this end" is a doctrine of hope and it was on account of this popular message that Buddhism became universal within such a short time.

Religious Toleration.—Although Asoka was an ardent disciple of Buddha he had respect for other religious teachers. One of the fundamental principles of his creed was respect for ascetics, Brahmans, and the teachers. He bestowed the cave-dwellings in Barabar Hills near Gaya on the Ajivikas, a sect of naked ascetics of the Jain faith. His main object was to promote the "Growth of the essence of matter in all sects in order to show reverence to one's own sect. He who does reverence to his own sect, while disparaging all other sects from a feeling of attachment to his own, on the supposition that he thus glorifies his own sect, in reality by such conduct inflicts severe injury on his own sect." He was of opinion that the sects of other people deserved reverence for one reason or another. People no doubt gave up worshipping the false gods as a result of the efforts of Asoka, but they were never coerced to follow the State religion. Missionaries were appointed to preach the tenets of the Law of Piety, and the proclamations were issued to educate people about the virtues of Law. The officers who were appointed to look after the religion of the people had to ensure the security of all the sects. There has been really no religious war in India. Buddhism became

a recognised system of philosophy, and Buddha in considered by the Hindus as one of the ten *avatars*. Asoka's toleration was thus quite in keeping with the Indian spirit.

The Third Buddhist Council.—A Council of the Buddhist monks was held at Pataliputra in 326 B. C. according to the Ceylonese Chronicles. No epigraphic evidence is available to confirm this tradition. This Council was convoked two hundred and thirty-six years after the death of Buddha in order to remove heresy among the monks and to prevent disorder. The first Buddhist Council was held at Rajgriha immediately after the death of Buddha, and the second Council was held at Vaisali one hundred years after that. Tissa, the son of Moggali was brought from Mathura to conduct the business of the third Council. All the priests in India assembled, and Tissa examined the faith of each. Dissenters to the number of sixty thousand were expelled from the Order, as they did not conform to the teaching of the Master. A thousand priests were selected to form a Convokation which was in session for nine months. The whole body of the scriptures was recited and verified in the Council. The king issued edicts forbidding schism in the church after this Council. The inscriptions found at Sarnath appear to be an edict of this type.

The character of Asoka.—Asoka ruled his empire for about forty years. His administration bears an impress of his remarkable character. He was a real "patriot king" answering to the ideal of Plato. The Ceylonese Chroniclee are responsible for the legend that he had to wade through blood by killing 99 brothers in order to ascend the throne. They also

portray him as a cruel and blood-thirsty ruler in the early part of his life. But the inscriptions contradict these legends. He had his brothers and sisters living, and he was not unmindful of their interests. He was a good soldier, and no doubt he had to shed blood to maintain his position. But that he was extraordinarily cruel is not supported by facts. He had more than one wife. At least two of them enjoyed the status of queens.

He was sincere in his profession. His toleration for other religions was not due to any political motive. He was convinced that every religion contained truth, and thus we find that he laid stress on the essence of matter, and did not like to dwell upon ceremonies and other details. At the Kalinga war he resolved to give up war, and never afterwards he is seen to wield arms. He has been compared to Akbar, but in this matter he stands much higher. Akbar fought till the end of his life, and his religion evaporated immediately after his death. But Asoka did not fight after he had taken a vow and his religion endured for a long time to come. Asoka inherited a vast empire which fell into pieces as soon as he died, but his creed remained an active faith of the people for several centuries afterwards, and his foreign missions have been more fruitful. While Buddhism is practically extinct in India, it is practieed by vast populations outside the country.

India is a country of diverse races and different religions. Asoka laid the foundation of a strong nationality by his benevolent catholicity which promoted the essence of all creeds and all races. His creed acknowledged the equality of all persons, small or great. A king who did not recognise wealth and social position

as the criteria of nobility was really a saint. Asoka appeared in the garb of a monk in a true spirit of humility, and all his activities show that he was filled with a desire to serve God, humanity and the living creatures. He succeeded in putting an end to the slaughter of animals, and useless ceremonies. The kingdom of Magadha was turned into a *Bihar* or monastery. Most of the intelligent people joined the Buddhist order. The result was not quite satisfactory to the future growth of Buddhism. It aimed at the restoration of a rational spirit in the conduct of life. Its followers gradually were led to regulate their life according to a stringent set of rules, and thus they were deprived of freedom of thought and of action. The strict moral code brought about a reaction which proved disastrous to Buddhism. Asoka however was not to blame for this. He had no intention to curb the spirit of freedom. But the Buddhist Councils were greatly responsible for setting up those regulations which were meant to give the people a standard of high morality and broad social life. Asoka had respect for different creeds and different teachers. So the spirit of his religion could not have condemned differncees of opinion regarding manners and customs among the followers of Buddhism. The missionaries brought about the ruin of their own religion by trying to introduce a dead. uniformity which did not afford any scope for rational difference. Unity of spirit does not presuppose uniformity of conduct. Asoka was fully conscious of this fact. He could not however bring the monks round to his views, who were afriad of heresy and schism in the church.

The condition of Society.—The Indian society was

considerably changed by the Buddhist Bhikshus who were sent out to preach the Law of Piety. The pleasures and amusements of the people were replaced by charity and good living. On any festive occasion slaughter of animals was a custom. Asoka forbade this practice. Thousands of animals were killed for the royal kitchen alone, the number was gradually reduced and ultimately no animals were killed for food. Asoka claims that his instructions were carried throughout his dominions. There is nothing to contradict this statement. But shortly after his death animal sacrifices were resumed by the people.

His proclamations were issued in the language of the people. Generally they were put at such places by which people passed. It is presumed that education among the people was widely spread, otherwise they could not have read the proclamations. The inscriptions were written in Prakrit language in Brahmi or Kharoshthi script. The edicts in the North-West Frontier at Shahbazgarhi and Mansera were probably inscribed by Persian scribes and hence they were done in the Kharoshthi style. But in the main land the alphabets were of all varieties of the Brahmi characters. It shows that Brahmi was in use since a long time, and made considerable progress. The Buddhist prose literature could not have been preserved by memory alone. Indians were thoroughly familiar with writing. The education of the people was not confined to the schoolroom. It was really given in the public places where all social, religious and political questions were discussed. The Indian folk could take active interest in deep philosophical questions. Asoka desired his officers to consult the people on other matters as well. Indian

society of the time thus presents all the features of a living and growing organism.

Art and architecture.—The monolithic pillars (Dhwaja-Stambha), the stupas and the railings round them with decorations in bas-relief are the remains of the Indian art und architecture which have been discovered by the archæologists. The other monuments of the artistic genius of the people are the cave-dwellings in Barabar Hill. These remains prove that Indian art reached a high state of technical development during the period. The lions on the top of the pillars at Sarnath, Bakhira and Lauriya-Nandangarh, the elephants carved from the rock at Dhauli are specimens of fine sculptures. These were the works of the skilled royal architects who were specially protected by law. "The arts in the age of Asoka" says V. A. Smith, "had undoubtedly attained to a high standard of excellence. The royal architects were capable of designing and erecting spacious and lofty edifices in brick, wood, and stone, of handling with success enormous monoliths, of constructing massive embankments with convenient sluice-gates, and of excavating commodious chambers in the most refractory rock. Sculpture was the hand-maid of architecture, and all notable buildings were freely and richly adorned with decorative patterns, an infinite variety of bas-reliefs, and numerous statues of men and animals. The art of painting was no doubt practised, as we know it was practised with success in a later age, but no spacimen that can be referred to the Maurya period has escaped the tooth of time."

The monolithic pillars, according to Mr. Havell, were the prototypes of the royal or tribal ensign which at the Vedic sacrifice were set up to mark the sacrificial

area. The so-called bell-shaped capital is really the mystic world-lotus with turned down petals. The pillar and the capital with lotus or the lion are the emblems of world-dominion, like a state-umbrella, the umbrella is a lotus with turned petals down The idea of these pillars was not borrowed from Persia as some people suggest but the existence of similar pillars in Persia indicates their common origin in the ancient Aryan practices.

The Stupa was a symbol of the cosmos, the solid hemispherical dome representing the heavenly vault. In the time of Asoka the stupa became an object of worship for the members of the Buddhistic Sangha. The railings round the stupas at Sanchi and Bharhut contain pictures in bas-relief describing current events or legends connected with the life of Buddha. The workmanship was not so elegant as in the pillar and the caves. Most probably they were executed by a lower grade of craftsmen.

The buildings of the period were mainly wooden structures. Carpentry was of a finished type as revealed by the recent discoveries at Pataliputra. "The beads and other jewellery and the seals of the Maurya period and earlier ages, which have been frequently found, prove that the Indian lapidaries and goldsmiths of the ealiest historical period were not inferior to those of any other country," says V. A. Smith. In other matters India attained a very high stage of material civilization.

The progress of Indian culture and civilization was ensured by the good government of Chandragupta Maurya and his successors. Asoka appears in history as the most important ruler of India. He stands

unsurpassed in his deep insight, grand ideas, and noble personality by any other monarch. His administration marks the high water level of Indian civilization. It shows what a wise and good king can do for his own people, and what people can achieve under a ruler who is thoroughly identified with them in race, sentiment and culture. It is on account of great reverence for his personality that his last days have been shrouded in legends. He died in his old age in 232 B. C.

CHAPTER X.

BREAK-UP OF THE MAURYA EMPIRE.

Successors of Asoka.—The Maurya Empire did not long survive Asoka. His successors did not possess his ability, wisdom and statesmanship. Moreover, the states which were conquered by the Maurya Kings were allowed to retain their own government as subordinate states and they reasserted their independence on the death of Asoka who served as a bond of unity. The Central Government at Pataliputra depended entirely upon the personality of the king. On the death of Asoka there was probably a scramble for the throne of Magadha. The names of three of his sons are found. Tivara, the most favourite, predeceased his father. Kunala was blinded, according to a folk-lore, by his step-mother Tishyarakshita. Another son, Jalauka, became the king of Kashmir and conquered the plains as far as Kanauj. He was a worshipper of Siva and was hostile to Buddhism. His name occurs only in the Kashmir traditions. The throne of Magadha, however, was occupied by his grandson Dasaratha. His name appears in an inscription in the Barabar Hills, which records an endowment given by him to the Ajivikas. According to the Puranas he ruled for eight years. Buddhist and Jain traditions mention the name of another grandson Samprati, son of Kunala. According to *Asoka-Avadana*, the ministers placed the government in the hands of Samprati when Asoka became very old. He was succeeded by Brihaspati, Brishasena. Pushyadharman and Pushyamitra. The Jain traditions

are not consistent. Some point Pataliputra as his capital, while other traditions mention Ujjain as his place of Government. He was a great patron of Jainism and erected a large number of temples throughout Western India. It seems he ruled from Ujjain over the western parts and Dasaratha from Pataliputra over the eastern provinces. The legends of Khotan refer to the story of an exiled prince, perhaps Kunala, occupying the throne of Khotan. These stories have not been corroborated.

The distant provinces gradually fell off from the empire. Kalinga was the first to revolt under Kharavela in 212 B. C. The provinces to the west of the Indus became independent under local chiefs. When Antiochos III of Syria invaded that region in 206 B. C. Subhagasena, a chief of Kabul, was compelled to offer tribute to him. The Andhras who lived between the Krishna and the Godavari declared their independence in about 200 B. C. Brihadratha, the last king of the Maurya dynasty, was assassinated by the commander-in-chief, Pushya mitra, in 185 B. C. The family of Asoka was not fully extinct. The surviving princes became local Rajas in Magadha and their descendants were found in the seventh century A. D. when Hiuen Tsang visited India. The rulers of the Konkan in the sixth, seventh and eighth centuries were connected in some way with the old Maurya dynasty.

The Sungas.—Brihadratha was a weak king. Bana relates in his *Harshacharita* that as he could not keep his coronation oath his commander-in-chief Pushyamitra usurped the throne. The people supported the usurper probably because they were tired of the bad government of the later Maurya Kings. Pushyamitra ruled

for 36 years. His dynasty is known as the Sungas. They are specially associated in literature and inscriptions with the kingdom of Vidisa. The new king ruled over the reduced territories of the Mauryas. The Narmada was the southern boundary of his kingdom, but the western boundary was indefinite. Most probably the Punjab seceded from the empire by that time.

Towards the end of his reign (about 155-3 B. C.) a Greek adventurer from Bactria, named Menander, invaded India. He advanced as far as Central India and threatened Pataliputra. The Western provinces up to Mathura and Saurashtra were annexed to his dominions. But the Sunga king gathered forces and repelled the invasion. Menander was forced to retire. He was the last European invader who ventured to attack India by land. He made Sakala (*i.e.* Sialkot) his capital in India.

The outlying provinces of the Sunga Empire were well-governed. The crown-prince Agnimitra ruled over the southern provinces as Viceroy with Vidisa (modern Bhilsa) as his head-quarters. The name of Agnimitra has been immortalised in the famous drama of *Malavika-Agnimitra* by Kalidas. Pushyamitra celebrated the Rajasuyayajna in order to get himself recognised as the Raj Chakravarti (Lord paramount) of Northern India. The sacrificial horse was let loose throughout this country in charge of his grandson Vasumitra. A band of Yavanas, probably remnants of Menander's army, challenged the horse on the banks of the Sindhu between Bundelkhund and the Rajputana States, but they were completely routed. The ceremony was performed with great pomp, in which Patanjali was present. The

Buddhist writers allege that Pushyamitra persecuted the Buddhists. He intended to destroy the Kukkutaram monastery near Pataliputra. A number of monks were executed and their monasteries burned most probably because these Buddhist missionaries were creating discontent in the country as they had lost their old position. The Buddhist rules might have been enforced with some severity which the people did not long tolerate, and naturally therefore the king dealt rather harshly with the supercilious and oppressive monks. The missionaries are generally carried away by their enthusiasm to spread their faith. The injunctions of Asoka to respect other religions might have been overridden by the monks, and the king was therefore forced to take strong measures to maintain official neutrality.

Pushyamitra was succeeded by his son Agnimitra, and ten hings of the dynasty altogether ruled at Pataliputra. The last king Devabhuti, who was a man of licentious habits, was killed in an intrigue contrived by his minister Vasudeva in 73 B.C. The Sunga kings thus ruled Northern India for 112 years. The most important of these kings was Pushyamitra the founder of the dynasty. The ninth king Bhagavata is said to have ruled for 32 years, but no other information about him is available. These kings were Hindus and the ceremonies they performed were according to the old Hindu traditions. Hinduism and Buddhism grew side by side. Evidences of a few Hindu ceremonials do not prove that Buddhism decayed, or that Buddhism was discouraged. A reaction might have set in as it was in England after the Puritan government of Cromwell. But that does not prove that the king took a hostile attitude. It is believed that the Sungas were originally

feudatories of the Mauryas at Bidisa, important as a central city connecting the western coast with Sravasti, Pataliputra and Paithan. On the downfall of the Mauryas the Sungas rose into prominence, and made the kings of Bharhut, Kausambi and Ahichhatra their feudatories. In the second century B. C. both Panchala with capital at Ahicchatra, and Vatsa with capital at Kausambi were ruled by branches of the same royal family. The kings of Mathura were also feudatories of the Sungas, till the region passed into the hands of the Sakas. Besides there were a number of independent kingdoms or tribal states in northern India in this period. There were the Yaudheyas in southern Punjab and the Arjunayanas in Central India. In the Punjab there were the Udumbaras in the Gurdaspur District, the Kulutas in the Kulu valley of the Kangra District, and the Kunindas in the Sutlej valley in the Simla Hills. These independent kingdoms continued in power even when they had to submit to some suzerain ruler.

The Kanvas.—The Brahman minister Basudeva founded a new dynasty known as the Kanvas. They were only four kings ruling altogether for 45 years. According to the Puranas Vasudeva ruled for 8 years, Bhumimitra 14 years, Narayana 12 years, and Susarmana 10 years. It is inferred from the short reign of these kings that they were not undisturbed in the enjoyment of their power. There were constant struggles over succession to the throne. Susarmana was overthrown and slain by an Andhra king from the South in 28 B. C. The Andhras were growing in power and taking advantage of the disturbances at Pataliputra, invaded the country and removed the last Kanva king from the throne.

The Andhras.—The Andhras were a Dravidian people living between the Godavari and the Krishna. They were an ancient race having a strong and independent government when Chandragupta ruled at Pataliputra. Megasthenes describes that there were thirty towns and numerous villages in the Andhra territory. Sri Kakulan on the Krishna was the ancient capital of the Andhras. The Maurya kings subjugated the country and Asoka referred to the Andhras in one of his edicts as a dependent people. Shortly after the death of Asoka the people shook off the government of the Mauryas, and their country was ruled by the kings known as the Andhras or Andhrabhrityas. The Andhra kingdom existed for 450 years down to about 225 A. D. Simuka was the reputed founder of the dynasty and there were thirty kings. They were generally known as Satavahana or Salivahana kings and sometimes the appellation Satakarni is associated with their names.

The Andhra kingdom made rapid progress. The second king Krishna (Kanha) extended their power up to Nasik in the west. The third king Sri Satakrani came into conflict with Kharavela, king of Kalinga, in 218 B.C. The latter however succeeded in maintaining his position. Satakarni is also credited to have conquered Ujjani from the Sunga king Pushyamitra. After 72 B. C. the Andhras on the fall of the Sungas annexed Vidisa. We do not know anything of the Andhra kings till we find that one of these kings slew the last Kanva king in 28 B. C. The identity of this king has not yet been possible. The seventeenth king Hala is credited with the authorship of the vernacular poem *Saptasataka* or seven centuries.

The twenty-third and the twenty-fourth king of the dynasty, Gotamiputra Satakarni and Vasishtiputra

Pulamayi, were engaged in war with the foreign settlers in the Western provinces. The Indo-Parthians penetrated into India as far as Kathiwar, and there were a number of local governors with the title of Satraps. The two great Satraps of the Kshaharata family, Bhumaka and Nahapana, consolidated their position in the new settlements. Nahapana assumed the title of Mahakshatrapa and Raja. Gautamiputra Satakarni exterminated the Kshaharatas in about 124 A.D. and celebrated his victory by giving liberal donations to Brahmans and Buddhists. The next king Vasishtiputra Pulamayi was defeated by the Saka Satrap Rudradaman I of Ujjain in about 135 A. D. Rudradaman gave his daughter in marriage to Pulamayi but he did not hesitate to reconquer the lost territories of the Kshaharatas from his son-in-law. Vasishtiputra Pulamayi died about 163 A. D. The next important king of the dynasty was Gautamiputra Yajna Sri. He recovered some of the lost provinces and is believed to have extended his powers far and wide. He issued silver coins in the western districts and leaden coins in the eastern parts. He had a long reign of about twenty-nine years. Some of his coins bear the figure of a ship which suggests that his army might have crossed the seas in extending his dominions. The later kings of the dynasty were of no importance and nothing is known about the sad end of these rulers. They disappear from history after 225 A. D. According to the Geography of Ptolemy the capital of the Andhras in about 130 A. D. was at Paithan.

The country under the Andhras was in a prosperous condition. The people were mostly Buddhist although Brahmanism was in a flourishing state. Princes and chiefs, merchants, goldsmiths, carpenters, corn-dealers

and men of other professions carved temples and monasteries out of solid rocks at Karli and other places for the use of the Buddhist Bhikshus. Monasteries were also dug out in the caves on the sea-shore. Most of the historical information of the times is derived from the inscriptions found in these places. We gather from the *Periplus of the Erythrian Sea* that the country was enjoying material prosperity. The cities of Broach Sopara, Paithan and Tagara were important for trade. Foreign vessels used to call at Broach, then known as Baruguza, and goods from the country were stocked there for export. Paithan was the greatest city in the Dakshinapatha. The important articles of export were rough stone, ordinary cotton, muslin, mallow-colour cotton, and spices and unguents; and the articles of import were wine, and glass and spices and beautiful girls for the royal harem. India was industrially ahead of the European countries in the first century of the Christian Era.

The people had a perfect corporate life. They had their trade and industrial guilds, municipal corporations and village-communities. "There were in those days," writes Sir R. G. Bhandarkar, "guilds of trades such as those of weavers, druggists, corn-dealers, oil-manufacturers, etc. Their organization seems to have been complete and effective, since, as already mentioned, they received permanent deposits of money and paid interest on them from generation to generation. Self-government by means of such guilds and village-communities has always formed an important factor of the political administration of the country. A *Nigama Sabha* or town corporation is also mentioned in one of Ushavadata's Nasik inscriptions, which shows that something like

municipal institution existed in those early days." The rate of interest was from five to seven and half per cent per annum, which is a sufficient evidence of the efficiency of government, and the confidence of the people in their own institutions. Inscriptions in different places bear testimony to the fact that people of different provinces could move from long distances without great difficulty. There must have therefore been good inter-provincial roads.

CHAPTER XI.

THE INDO-GREEKS AND THE INDO-PARTHIANS.

The Indo-Greeks.—The Hindukush was the boundary of the Maurya Empire on the north-west, and Afghanistan and Baluchistan were included in the territories of the Mauryas since 303 B. C. when Seleukos entered into an alliance with Chandragupta. The other Asiatic conquests of Alexander to the west of the Hindukush remained in possession of Seleukos, who consolidated the dominions. Seleukos was assassinated by his son Antiochos Soter in 280 B. C. Antiochos Soter was succeeded by his son Antiochos Theos, a young man of twenty-four, a drunken sensualist, and murderer of his brother Seleukos, (in about 261 B. C.). This young king created a large number of enemies by his bad government. He remained on the throne for fifteen or sixteen years. The Bactrians and the Parthians of the north-eastern provinces of the empire revolted against Antiochos in about 250 B. C.

Rise of Bactria.—Bactria was a rich and prosperous country on the other side of the Hindukush. It was watered by the Oxus and was inhabited by an intelligent people, well-known for their civilization and culture. Bactria (modern Balkh) formed an important satrapy of the Persian emperors. The Greek writer Strabo says that there were about a thousand towns in Bactria. After the conquest of Alexander the Greeks settled in large numbers in this rich valley and the civilization of the country was therefore a happy blend of Greek and Bactrian cultures. The Greek settlers brought with

them their institutions manners, and customs. When the misrule of Antiochos Theos became intolerable, they rose in rebellion under their governor Diodotos, and declared themselves independent. The new king of Bactria was a Greek and the Greek rule in the province continued for about a century more. The names of about thirty-five Indo-Greek kings and two queens are supplied by the large number of coins found in the Punjab, North-West Frontier and Afghanistan. An outline of their history has been constructed with the help of these coin legends. The information is therefore scanty and incomplete.

It seems there was constant struggle for the throne of Bactria. Diodotos was succeeded by his son of the same name after a short reign of five years in 245 B. C. There was a rebellion in 230 B. C. led by Euthydemos, a native of Magnesia, in which Diodotos II lost his throne.

The king of Syria made an attempt to regain the revolted provinces when Euthydemos was the ruler of Bactria. Antiochos III carried on a long war with both Bactria and Parthia, which terminated in 208 B. C. and independence of both the kingdoms was recognised. The integrity of Bactria was not interfered with, as it was considered impolitic to weaken a settlement of the Greeks in view of the constant menace of a Scythian invasion from the North. Antiochos crossed the Hindu-Kush, invaded Kabul Valley and obtained a large indemnity from Sobhagasena, the independent king of that region (206 B. C.). At the time of recognising the independence of Bactria he gave his daughter in marriage to Demetrios, son of Euthydemos. Demetrios followed in the foot-steps of his father-in-law, and succeeded in

conquering Kabul, the Punjab and Sindh (190 B. C.). While he was away in India another rebellion took place in Bactria under the leadership of Eucratides. Henceforth Bactrian history is occupied with the wars between the descendants of Euthydemos and of Eucratides.

Eucratides was not supported by the various tribes and states of Bactria, but it seems he ultimately succeeded in defeating the partisans of Demetrios (175 B. C.), and even obtained from him some of his Indian possessions. Demetrios however managed to retain his hold upon his other conquests for some time to come, and the two families ruled over one province or another till they were swept away by the flood of Saka invasion. Bactria was invaded by Mithridates I, the king of Parthia, during the reign of Eucratides, and was in occupation under him for some years. It is believed that shortly afterwards Eucratides was inhumanly murdered by his son Apollodotos (156 B. C.). These internal causes weakened Bactria, and it became an early prey for the Saka hordes. Heliokles was probably the last Greek king of Bactria. When Bactria was conquered by the Sakas a number of Greek Princes retained their power in India.

The Greek Princes in India.—Apollodotos and Menander conquered several provinces of India, and Strabo says that they carried on their conquest very far. Silver coins of these two princes were found at Barugaza in the first century of the Christian Era. Menander is identified with Milinda of the Buddhist book "Milinda-panha." He probably had his capital at Kabul and invaded India in 155 B. C. He advanced as far as Kathiwar in the South, Nagari near Chitor, and Saketa in Oudh. His attack

upon Pataliputra was repelled. Sakala (Sialkot) and Mathura were the head-quarters of these Greek princes. References to Greek invasions are found in such books as Kalidas's Malavika-Agnimitra, Patanjali's Mahabhashya, and the Gargi Samhita. It has been gathered from the evidences of coins that the provinces of Kabul and Gandhar, which were originally conquered by Demetrios were later on snatched away from him by Eucratides. The Greek rule in Gandhar was terminated by the Saka invasions, but the Kabul valley remained in the hands of the Greeks till 25 A. D. when the last Greek king Hermæus was succeeded by the Kushan chief Kujula Kadphises. The only one stone inscription which mentions the Greek princes is that found at Besnagar in Gwalior. The inscription records the erection of a standard by one Heliodorrs, a Greek ambassador of king Antialcidas at Besnagar, in honour of God Vishnu in the 14th year of the reign of king Bhagabhadra, probably a successor of Pushyamitra. This Antialcidas was evidently a member of the family of Eucratides. The inscription is very interesting in as much as it shows how the Greeks assimilated the culture of the Hindus. The names of many other Greek kings are found in the coins, but no connected history can be made up with the help of such bare information.

The Indo-Parthians.—Almost simultaneously with the Bactrians the people of Parthia revolted against Antiochos Theos. They were a race of mounted shepherds skilled in the use of bow and arrow. They did not adopt the Greek culture and retained their habits unchanged. Their country was not very fertile. It was beyond the Persian deserts to the south-east of the Caspian Sea. The leader of the revolution was a national hero called

Arsakes. The war of independence continued for several years. They declared their autonomy in 248 B. C. but the war did not come to an end till the death of Antiochos in 246 B. C. The kingdom grew in power and importance and became an empire by acquiring the provinces of the Empire of Syria. The independence of Parthia was formally recognised when Antiochos III failed to reduce the recalcitrant provinces.

The territories of Parthia were extended on all sides in the reign of Mithridates I (171 to 136 B. C.). He invaded Bactria and came to India. The general of Demetrios in India was defeated and Mithridates annexed not only the provinces to the west of the Indus, but it is believed that he also conquered the nations between the Indus and the Hydaspes (Jhelum) and the Parthian Empire extended from the Euphrates to the border of India. The sucessors of Mithridates were engaged in suppressing a Saka rising for several years, and in the reign of Mithridates II (123-88 B. C.) they succeeded in stemming the tide. The Sakas had two settlements, one to the north of Bactria and the other in the province of Drongiana between Persia and India, later known as Sakastan or Seistan. The Parthians were engaged in suppressing the Sakas of Seistan and ultimately a subordinate kingdom arose in this struggle. There was another subordinate kingdom, that of the Pahlavas, a branch of the Parthian people. They lived in Seistan, Arachosia (Kandahar) and Gedrosia (Northern Baluchistan) and they came to India in large numbers. Coins have been found in India bearing Parthian names. It is believed that these names are of the Pahlava Satraps of the Parthian Kings. The Sakas of Seistan came along with the Pahlavas, and thus we find

that the Parthians, the Pahlavas and the Sakas were mixed up in India. The coins bearing the inscription "King of Kings" are referred to the Pahlavas and Saka Satraps, who probably borrowed the title from their superior lords of Parthia. The title is an adaptation of the title *Kshayathiyanam Kshayathiya* of the Persian Emperors. The later Kushan kings also adopted the title.

The Saka Invasion.—The Sakas were nomad hordes of Scythians who originally belonged to China. On account of the growth of population in the latter country there were successive waves of emigrations from it to Western Asia and to Europe. One branch of these people settled in Central Asia to the north of the Jaxartes. But when another wave came from China the settlers in Central Asia moved southwards. The kingdom of Bactria was swept away by this flood, and swarms of the Sakas came to the valley of the Hilmand, where perhaps there was an earlier settlement of their people. There they came in conflict with the Parthians, which has been already alluded to. Hordes of these Sakas, Pahlavas and Parthians came to India through Kandahar and crossing the Bolan Pass over Baluchistan to Sindh and from there went up the valley of the Indus. They occupied the Punjab, and spread eastwards as far as Mathura. The Kabul valley was then under the occupation of the Greek princes from Bactria. In India these invaders ruled as governors of the Parthian monarchs. They were known as Satraps. Takshasila and Mathura became capitals of these Satrapies, and later another horde occupied the peninsula of Surashtra where they continued in power till 390 A. D. The kingdoms of these Sakas in the Punjab and Northern India were

conquered by a later horde of the Scythians known as the Yuch-chis or Kushans, who came by the Kabul Valley.

Satraps of Takshasila and Mathura.—Our information is mainly derived from the coins. In the Saka line the names of the following monarchs and Satraps are known: Maues, Venones, Azes, Azilises, and Satraps Liaka, Patika, Rajuvula, Sodasa, Kharahostes, Jihunia, etc. And in the Parthian line we gather the names of Gondopharnes, Abdagases, Arsakes, Pakores and Sanabares.

The Greek prince Strato I was ruling in the Kabul valley and the Punjab when Heliokles was overcome by the Scythian hordes. He was succeeded by his grandson Strato II. The Sakas drove the Greeks from the Punjab and occupied Takshasila which was their capital, but the Greeks remained for sometime in the Kabul Valley, of which Kapisa was the capital. At Mathura the Sakas displaced the Greeks as well as the Hindu rulers. The first known Satrap of Takshasila was Liaka as subordinate to King Moga or Maues. Patika was the son of Liaka. At Mathura the names of the two Hindu Rajas, Gomitra and Kamadatta, are known from the coins. They were displaced by the Satraps Hagana and Hagamasha. These Satraps were followed by Rajuvula, or Ranjuvula, who was succeeded by his son Sodasa.

A monument of the Saka Satraps at Mathura was discovered by Pandit Bhagwan Lal Indraji, bearing inscriptions in Kharoshthi. It is the lion-faced capital of a pillar in red sandstone. From the inscriptions the names of the Satraps of Mathura and other places have been found. We also learn from the same source that the Satraps of Mathura, Takshasila and Kapisa were Buddhists.

The Western Satraps:—Hordes of the Sakas also went to Kathiwar, Malwa and the Deccan, and they carved out kingdoms for themselves. There were two distinct kingdoms of these "Western Satraps," one with capital at Nasik and the other at Ujjain. The first-known name of the Satrap at Nasik is Bhumaka Kshaharata, and next is that of Nahapana. The latter assumed the title of Mahakshatrapa. The kingdom of these Kshaharata Satraps included Kathiwar, Southern Rajputana and the Deccan up to Nasik and Poona. The time of the beginning of their settlement is not definitely known. Probably the kingdom was established sometime in the first century after the birth of Christ. It was conquered and annexed to his dominions by the Andhra King Gautamiputra in about 126 A. D.

The second satrapy at Ujjain was founded by Chastana late in the first century A. D. His grandson Rudradaman I greatly extended the dominions. He reconquered the territories of the Kshaharata Satraps from the Andhra King Pulamayi II. His dominions thus included Kathiwar, Cutch, Sind, Malwa, the Konkan and some other districts. The Satraps of Ujjain continued in power till they were conquered by Chandra Gupta II in about 390 A. D.

The Indo-Parthian Kings:—Mithridates I (171-136 B. C.) raised Parthia from a small state to a vast empire extending from Babylon to the Punjab. The capital of this empire was Ctesiphon. The distant provinces could not possibly be managed effectively by the central government. Besides, the Parthian kings had to deal with the nomadic invasions. Two kings, Phrastes II and Artabanus, died between 130 and 120 B. C. while engaged in resisting the Scythian invasions.

In this disturbed state of the Parthian government a Saka chief named Maues established himself at Takshasila as the king of the Punjab (120 B. C.). At the same time a Parthian named Venones became feudatory chief of Seistan and Arachosia. He was succeeded by his brother Spalirises, and by Azes, son of Spalirises. The government of Arachosia was in the hands of Venones and his family for about 25 years.

Within a short time Parthia succeeded in restoring order. Mithridates II re-established its supremacy over Seistan, Arachosia and the Punjab. Azes, the governor of Seistan and Arachosia, was transferred to Takshasila, in place of Maues (about 90 B. C.) The Punjab was governed by Azes and his family for a long time, Azes was in power for about 50 years, and became practically independent. He was succeeded by his son Azilises and then by his grandson Azes II.

In about 20 A. D. Gondopharnes succeeded Azes II, conquered Sindh and Arachosia and became independent. He shook off the Parthian control. He enjoyed a long reign and died in 48 A. D. Gondopharnes was a Parthian. In the legends of the Christian church it is related that St. Thomas, the apostle of the Parthians, was sent to the Court of Gondopharnes, and the king became a convert to Christianity. There is however no historical evidence to support this story, but it may not be altogether false.

On the death of Gondopharnes his kingdom could not maintain its unity. His nephew Abdagases became king of the Punjab, and Orthagnes assumed the government of Sindh and Arachosia. Orthagnes was succeeded by Pakores, but the name of any successor of Abdagases is not known. The Kushans came to India by this time

and they conquered the Punjab, Arachosia and Sindh in turn and built up an empire with the scattered states and the divers races. The Parthian kingdom of Ctesiphon remained under the descendants of Arsakes till they were superseded by the Sassanians in 226 A. D.

Hellenic influence upon India.—The invasions of Alexander, Seleukos and Antiochos were mere raids. They came as storms and passed away shortly after. Such temporary disturbances could not have produced any change in the civilization of India. Megasthenes, the Greek Ambassador at Pataliputra, has left records of the unadulterated culture of the Indians. They did not borrow anything from the foreigners. Their art, architecture and literature bear no traces of foreign influence. Demetrios of Bactria was the real founder of a Greek line of kings in Afghanistan and the Punjab. He was called "the king of the Indians," and his successors remained in power in these provinces for about two hundred years. The last Greek prince, whose name we know, was Hermæos. He was overthrown by the Kushans in about 25 A. D. During this long period the Indians came under the influence of the Greeks, and it is expected that their civilization was affected thereby. The Greeks settled at Takshasila or Taxila, Kapisa, Mathura and other large towns. But there is no evidence to prove that they influenced the Indians in an appreciable manner.

The coins of the Indians were not very polished. They used punch-marked, cast or rudely struck coins. But the coins of the Greeks were polished and struck with two dies bearing the effigy and title of the king on one side, and some other device on the other. The Indians adopted the style of these coins in later

ages. But the Greek princes had to accept the Indian standard of weight for their coins. Their language was not understood by the common people. So their coins were imprinted on one side in Greek and on the other in Kharoshthi. In some cases they adopted Indian device. In architecture we do not find any change. The Greek sculpture may have appealed to the imagination of the Indians, for we find more sculptures after the Greek connection. The literature of the Indians does not show any sign of Greek influence. It is believed that the Indians learnt to produce dramas later on from the Greeks. But it cannot be said with confidence that the dramatic literature of the Indians owes entirely to foreign inspiration. The Indian dramas reached such excellence that it is hardly believed that they were not Indian in spirit and in execution. The manners and customs of the people remained unaffected. The Indians at that time were not an exclusive people. They accepted the Greeks in their own society. The Greeks adopted their manners. The monument of Besnagar shows that there were Greeks who worshipped Hindu gods. The Hindu philosophy went on undisturbed in its own course. It is however believed that the Greek sculpture suggested to the Buddhists to introduce the figure of Buddha in their artistic representations. Before this Buddha was indicated by symbols such as Bodhi tree and other things. But later on we find that the figure of Buddha was portrayed.

In summarising the effects of Greek civilization upon India V. A. Smith says:

"The conclusion of the matter is that the invasions of Alexander, Antiochos the Great, Demetrios, Eukratides and Menander were in fact, whatever their authors

may have intended, merely military incursions, which left no appreciable mark upon the institutions of India. The prolonged occupation of the Punjab and neighbouring regions by Greek rulers had extremely little effect in hellenizing the country. Greek political institutions and architecture were rejected, although to a small extent Hellenic example was accepted in the decorative arts, and the Greek language must have been more or less familiar to the officials at the kings' courts. The literature of Greece probably was known slightly to some of the native officers, who were obliged to learn their masters' language for business purpose, but that language was not duly diffused, and the impression made by Greek authors upon Indian literature and science is hardly traceable until after the close of the period under discussion."

CHAPTER XII.

THE KUSHAN DYNASTY.

Migration of the Yuch-chis.—India was visited by a fresh race of invaders in the first century A. D. The north-west frontier has always been a vulnerable point. Invasions have come through the passes on this side from the earliest times. We have already seen that the Aryans, the Persians, the Greeks, the Sakas and the Parthians came in successive waves and settled in the region watered by the Jaxartes in Central Asia. Vast hordes originally came from China which was seething with population from very remote times. The Sakas came from the same country earlier and settled in the region watered by the Jaxartes, and partly in Drongiana. They were followed by a smaller tribe called Wu-sun. By the middle of the second century B. C. about a million people of North-western China left their home in search of means of subsistence. They were goaded by privation at home and came westwards. They first overcame the Wu-sun on the way and then came into conflict with the Sakas who were forced to give way and migrated towards India. But the Yuch-chis were left undisturbed for a long time. The Wu-sun tribe gathered their forces and drove them further south. The Yuch-chis in their turn pressed upon Bactria, and occupied the region on both sides of the Oxus. The fertile country of Sogdiana and Bactria afforded them ample food. So in the course of time they gave up their nomad habits and became peaceful citizens. They became a fully develcped nation before

the beginning of the Christian era. But their unity was not maintained as they were divided into five principalities.

Kadphises I.—One section of these people known as the Kushan became prominent by the middle of the first century A. D. Its chieftain Kujula-kara-Kadphises, or Kadphises I became the supreme lord of the five principalities. He carried his arms across the Hindu Kush to find fresh fields for the increasing number of his people. In the course of his long reign he conquered Kabul, Ki-pin (Gandhara including Taxila) and the other territories of the Indo-Greeks. The Parthians also did not escape his wide arms. He thus acquired a vast empire including modern Bokhara, Afghanistan and the Western Punjab up to the Jhelum. He died in about 77 or 78 A. D. at the age of eighty.

Kadphises II.—His son Wima Kadphises or Kadphises II succeeded to the throne of his father Kadphises I. The Saka era which commenced in 78 A. D. probably marks the accession of Kadphises II to the throne. His coins have been found in distant places throughout Northern India. It is believed from this that he conquered as far as Benares in the east and the Narmada Valley in the south. The Saka satraps of Malwa also aknowledged his supremacy.

Kadphises had also to avert another danger from the north. The kings of China cast their longing looks towards the west. The Emperor Wu-ti sent an embassy under Chang-kien to establish relations with the kingdoms of Western Asia (140—86 B. C.). But by the first quarter of the Christian era these relations were stopped. Fifty years afterwards the Chinese led a fresh campaign under their General Pan-chao. They

conquered Khotan and Chinese Turkistan, and reached the shores of the Caspian Sea. The approach of the Chinese was a menace to the Kushan empire. Kadphises II challenged Pan-chao. He demanded the hands of a Chinese princess. Pan-chao treated this with contempt. Kadphises II then sent an army consisting of 70,000 cavalry across Taghdumbash Pamir under his viceroy Si. But his troops were exhausted in crossing the difficult mountain passes, and they were easily defeated. Kadphises II had henceforth to pay tribute to China.

As Kadphises I died at the age of eighty Kadphises II could not possibly have reigned more than thirty years. It is therefore presumed that he died in about 110. A. D. His governors most probably managed the government for some time after his death. A large number of anonymous coins issued in this time have suggested this theory.

Kaniska.—Another section of the Yuch-chis known as the Little Yuch-chi settled in the Khotan region. The section which settled in the Oxus region was called the Great Yuch-chi. In about 120 A. D. Kanishka, son of Vajheska, of the Little Yuch-chi section, came into the throne of Kadphises II. He is the most well-known of the Yuch-chi kings of India. A new era was started during his reign, and it was continued by his successors. The exact date of the commencement of this era has not yet been determined. Coins and inscriptions bearing the years 3 to 99 of this era have been found. The Orientalists are not yet agreed about the nature of this era.

Kanishka built up a vast empire. He not only established his supremacy over the old dominions of the

Yuch-chis, but annexed Kashmir and subjugated Khotan, Yarkand and Kashgar. The Chinese annals refer to the loss of Chinese Turkistan to the empire in 52 A. D. The Buddhist chronicles have also narrated the exploits of Kanishka beyond the Pamirs. The conquest of Turkistan is therefore established on credible authority. Hostages were exacted from one of the princes, who were provided with residences in the Punjab and the Kabul province. It is told that Kanishka was smothered by his officers in Khotan, as they were weary of these troublesome campaigns.

Purushapura or modern Peshawar was the capital of Kanishka. It occupied a central position. He could watch the events of India as well as the provinces on either side of the Khyber from this place. In India his empire extended up to Benares on the east and Sindh in the south. He had also to subjugate the Parthians. His government was strong and efficient. It presents all the signs of prosperity and internal order. During his absence in Turkistan, first his elder son Vasishka and then the younger son Huvishka carried on the government. Vasishka probably died before his father, and Huvishka succeeded him. The excavations at Peshawar and Taxila have produced many valuable remains of the Kushan period. One of them is a headless statue of Kanishka.

Images of varius Gods, Zoroastrian, Greek, Mithraic and Indian, appear on the coins of Kushan kings. The coins of Kanishka bear these images as well as that of Buddha. The Buddhist chronicles tell of the conversion of Kanishka to Buddhism. A Buddhist Council was held at Kundal-Vana near the capital of Kashmir. The delegates to the council all came from the *Hinayana*

School. About 500 delegates attended. Vasumitra was elected President, and Asvagosha Vice-president. The council prepared huge commentaries on the *Tripitaka*, including the *Mahavibhasha*, which is described as an encyclopædia of Buddhist philosophy.

Hinayana and Mahayana.—Buddhism underwent a great transformation during the first two or three centuries of the Chiristian era. The early Buddhism was based upon the "Indian ideas of rebirth, of the survival and transmission of Karma, or the net result of human action, and of the blessedness of escape from the pains of being" (V. A. Smith). Devotion to duty and charity for all living creatures were added to these philosophic views. Buddhism was thus an intellectual, moral, and social movement. But when it was carried beyond the frontiers of India it underwent changes according to the traditions of the people among whom it was preached. The Western world during the period was being unified under the Roman Cæsars. The personality of Jesus Christ was working as the bond of unity among the different races. There was intercourse vetween India and the Western world through trade, and the Buddhist Missionaries also came in contact with the new type of the Christians. It was during this time that "nascent Christianity met full-grown Buddhism in academies and markets of Asia and Egypt, while both religions were exposed to the influences of surrounding paganism in many forms and of the countless works of art which gave expression to the ideas of polytheism. The ancient religion of Persia contributed to the ferment of human thought, excited by improved facilities for international communication and by the incessant clash of rival civilization." Buddha now appears

as a Divine Being surrounded by a hierarchy of Bodhisattvas. The old Buddhism was rather cold and did not appeal to the devotional sentiments of the people. The Indian mind has been always of a synthethic type where *Bhakti* (devotion) is mixed up with *Jnana* (knowledge) and *Karma* (action). The old Buddhism had very little scope for *Bhakti*. So in the course of time Buddhism assimilated all the elements of a progressive religion. It seemsth erefore that foreign intercourse as well as an internal movement helped in transforming Buddhism. Henceforth we find two main sections of Buddhists, one called *Hinayana* or the Little Vehicle professing to follow the old ideas, and *Mahayana* or the Great Vehicle adopting the new ideals of the divinity of Buddha, and the existence of Bodhisattvas acting as mediators between man and Buddha. Nagarjuna, a contemporary of Kanishka, was the chief exponent of the *Mahayana* School.

Gandhara Art.—Changes in the sculpture of India are also noticed in this period. No image of Buddha appears in Sanchi or Bharhut but images of Sakya, Bodhisattva or Buddha appears in the first century A.D. The sculpture of the time of Kanishka and his successors was executed in the style of Gandhara where Greek art was applied to Buddhist subjects. The inspiration was Indian but the technique Greek. The copious sculptures of this period have been discovered. Elaborate drapery is a distinguishing feature of these sculptures. The art spirit of India was however not confined to the Gandhara style. Remains of genuine Indian style have been discovered at Sarnath, Amaravati, and Mathura. The bas-reliefs at Amaravati are excellent productions and they have received universal admiration. The styles of Mathura and

Sarnath are free and vigorous. They are marked by a dignity of expression and grand conception.

Kanishka was a great builder. He erected a tower at Peshawar over the relics of Buddha, four hundred feet high. He built a town in Kashmir, and Mathura was beautified by a number of buildings and sculptures. A statute of Kanishka, executed in the pure Indian style, has been found at Mathura. This is now preserved in the museum at Lucknow. The excavations at Taxila, which bear remains of the different strata of civilization, Maurya, Greek, Parthian, and Kushan, have established the view that Gandhara art is associated with the time of Kanishka. Gandhara sculptures are not found in the Parthian or early Kushan strata.

Literature of the Kushan period.—The literature of the period became also very rich by the writings of such eminent writers as Vasumitra, Ashvaghosa and Nagarjuna. Ashvaghosa was the most remarkable of them. He was a poet, musician, scholar, theologian and monk. He was first living in Pataliputra, and was carried off from there by Kanishka. He wrote in Sanskrit and not in Pali. His Buddha Charita is written in pure Sanskrit and in elegant style. This shows a turning point in the development of Indian culture. Charaka, the famous physician and author of *Susruta*, was living in the Court of Kanishka.

The rich literature and abundant architecture and sculptures of the times are evidences of a flourishing people, and it shows that the national life was in its full tide.

Date of Kanishka.—A great deal of controversy has arisen over the date of Kanishka. Many scholars have tried to find out the date with the help of the coins.

Some considered the unknown era as the Vikrama, the Saka, or the Laukika era, beginning with 58 B. C., 78 A. D. or omitting certain digits. The literary and archæological evidences however prove that Kanishka could not have come to the throne earlier than 120 A. D. Sanskrit made sufficient progress in his time and there is no evidence of the existence of such Sanskrit in the first century A. D. or earlier. The excavations at Taxila prove that Kanishka could not have come before the first quarter of the first century. The unknown era is now considered to be a special era started by Kanishka or his subjects.

Successors of Kanishka.—Kanishka was succeeded by his son Huvishka, who founded a city called Huskapura in Kashmir. He was the last king to rule over the vast empire. In the time of Vasudeva I the empire broke up. The history of the fall of the Kushan empire is rather obscure. Kushan chiefs continued to rule over smaller principalities in different parts. The western provinces were absorbed in the Persian empire shortly after 226 A. D. Some Kushan chiefs retained their power in Kabul till the fifth century when the Hunas overpowered them.

The Kushans, like the previous foreign tribes who settled in India, assimilated the Indian culture. The name Vasudeva indicates that he was a worshipper of Vishṇu. But an accurate history of the social and religious conditions of the people is impossible from the scanty materials available.

Relations with foreign countries.—The Indians maintained trade relations with Greece and Egypt through Asia Minor. Palmyrà in Syria was the principal commercial depot between 105 A. D. and 273 A. D. The eastern

trade with the West passed through this distributing centre. Commerce was carried on with Persia, Mesopotamia and Asia Minor by land. The *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* gives a good account of the trade along the coast. This has been already referred to in connection with the Andhra kings. Merchants sailed from Mouza in Arabia and reached Muziris or Cranganore on the Malabar coast in forty days during July and August, and returned in December or January. There were three principal trade routes with the West, one through Persia, the Caspian Sea, the Black Sea and then to Constantinople ; the second along the coast to the mouth of the Euphrates and thence to Palmyra; and the third along the coast to the Red Sea, and then through Egypt to Alexandria. The Indian goods were paid in Roman coins, and we find the Indians later on adopting the Roman style of aurei in their coinage.

Trade with the eastern countries were maintained during the period. Remains of Hindu and Buddhist civilization have been found in Cambodia and Siam. The principal route of trade with China was however by land.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE INDIAN RENAISSANCE.

No state in India rose into prominence for about a century after the fall of the Andhras in the South, and the Kushans in the North-West. India was divided into a number of small states without any cohesion or any bond of unity. Each of these states was busy in setting its own house in order. The people also began to arrange their social and religious institutions in their ancient spirit, which, they thought, were contaminated by foreign connection. The *Manu Samhita* was developed into a code of social and moral laws in this period. We do not come across any literary or epigraphic records of Indian history till we come to the second quarter of the fourth century. Pataliputra then rises from centuries of oblivion into the capital of an empire once again. With the rise of the Gupta kings India enters into a new life. The social and political institutions, art, architecture and literature all feel the impulse of a rejuvenescence. Indian civilization reached its zenith during the administration of the Guptas. It seems after centuries of foreign interference the Indian people devoted their entire energy to the restoration of the ancient glory of their country. The progress which India made during these three centuries of good government under Indian kings was due mainly to a strong desire of the nation to live according to the noble traditions of the past. The Gupta kings helped by their exploits in re-uniting the people under the ægis of a strong paramount power, and in maintaining the country safe from foreign invasions. Their

achievements were recorded in inscriptions which have been collected from several places and the literature of the times both Indian and foreign bear ample testimony to the peace and prosperity which the people enjoyed. The inscriptions were compiled in a volume by Dr. Fleet in 1888, and some more inscriptions have been discovered and edited since then. We owe to them the chronology of the Gupta kings, and an account of their government and territory. The Sanskrit literature and the memoirs of the Chinese travellers have supplemented the inscriptions. The memoirs of Fa-Hien are specially valuable in this connection. Other information has been supplied by the dumb monuments of art and architecture.

The Gupta Kings.—Early in the fourth century a Raja of Pataliputra married Kumara Devi, a princess of the Lichchavi clan. The Raja named Chandra Gupta was son of Ghatotkacha and grandson of Maharaja Gupta after whom the dynasty is called. The marriage was considered by the Guptas as the turning-point in their career, as they always referred to it with pride. The Lichchavis were a clan enjoying a republican form of government since early times. They were conquered by the kings of Magadha later on, but it seems on the fall of the Maurya power they reasserted their independence. Chandra Gupta most probably acquired some power and prestige by this marriage. He extended his territory along the Gangetic valley upto Prayag and assumed the title of *Maharajadhiraja*. By his conquests he became the master of South Behar, Tirhoot, Oudh and some other adjoining districts. He held a formal ceremony of coronation as Emperor in 319 A. D. from which date he started a new era called the Gupta era.

Samudra Gupta.—Chandra Gupta was succeeded by

his son Samudra Gupta in 330 or 335 A. D. He has been described in one of the inscriptions as the exterminator of all kings, having no antagonist in the world, his fame extending up to the four oceans, and an equal of gods, a giver of millions of cows and gold, and a restorer of the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. The English historians call him an Indian Napoleon. He realised, as no other Indian king ever afterwards, the necessity of consolidating the empire by either conquering the hostile states or subjugating them. When India was divided into a number of small states then it was easy for the foreigners to enter into the country by overpowering the weak chiefs of the frontier provinces, and then to conquer the other states. Chandragupta Maurya first set up an obstacle in the way of foreign invasions by building a strong empire but the fall of the empire after the death of Asoka weakened the defence of the country. The Greeks, the Parthians, the Sakas, and the Yuch-chis came one by one and settled themselves in different parts of India. It was not possible for any one small state to withstand these invasions. The distant provinces of the South and the East escaped these invasions not so much on account of their military strength, but very likely because the force of the invading army was gradually exhausted in traversing such a long distance. Weaker states in the vicinity of a kingdom are often a source of great danger. No state can feel itself safe when it can be overrun by the people of a neighbouring state, or a foreigner may invade it through weak states adjoining it. A system of confederation was attempted by Chandragupta Maurya and his successors. But a combination of the states under the hegemony of a powerful kingdom has nowhere endured. India has not been

an exception in the matter. Samudra Gupta made another attempt, and he succeeded in establishing a strong empire which lasted so long as it was guided by a strong monarch. But it fell into pieces when the central government became weak. Samudra Gupta undertook his campaigns not under the "principle that 'kingdom-taking' is the business of the kings" but with a view to build up a strong kingdom which might stand against foreign invasions. Kingdom-taking as such could not be a principle with him as he maintained the autonomy of many of the kingdoms he conquered. Napoleon might have this avarice, and many of the modern states of Europe are not free from the greed of land, but the Indian king does not seem to have any thing else behind his policy of conquest except the spirit of national defence. The inscription of the Asoka pillar at Allahabad records that he captured twelve kings of the South, and then liberated them by forming an alliance with them. He however exterminated the kingdoms of Northern India, and admitted the kings of the forest countries into his service. He made the frontier-kings his tributaries that they might pay allegiance to him. He established royal families but they were deprived of sovereign rights. The peoples of the out-lying countries such as the Daivaputras, Shahis, Shahanushahis, Sakas and Murandas, and the people of Sinhala also formed alliances with him by sending rich presents. All these indicate that his only motive was the strengthening of the military position of the country. He conquered the neighbouring countries, and made alliances with the distant states. Such a policy cannot be stigmatised as the Oriental policy of aggression. This policy has to be followed by all progressive states

whether in India or in Europe. A war of aggression ceases to be a necessity where a state has reached its natural frontiers or when the neighbouring states are in close friendship with it. Without one of these conditions a state cannot feel itself safe.

Campaigns of Samudra Gupta.—The places mentioned in the inscriptions have not all been identified, neither is it possible to arrange his campaigns in time order. Harishena has put the places in the famous inscription at Allahabad according to their situation. It is presumed that he conquered the kingdoms in Northern India, which were lying close to his kingdom, before he undertook his campaigns in the South. The names of the kings of Aryavarta who were violently exterminated are Rudradeva, Matila, Nagadatta, Chandravarman, Ganapatinaga, Nagasena, Achyuta, Nandin, Balavarman and many others. The exact position of the territories of these kings could not be traced. The capital of Ganapatinaga only has been identified with Padmavati or Narwar, which exists even now in the territories of the Scindhia.

After completing the conquests in the North Samudra Gupta led his campaigns into the South. First he came upon South Kosala in the valley of the Mahanadi and overthrew its king Mahendra. He then subjugated the forest kingdoms lying on the way. This region was known as Mahakantara, and its principal chief Vyaghra Raja. Mahendra of Pistapuram (modern Pithapuram), and Svamidatta of Kottura on the Mahendragiri hills in the Ganjam, Mantaraja of Kerala (on the banks of the Kolleru or Colair lake), Hastivarman of Vengi between the Krishna and the Godavari, and Vishnu Gopa of Kanchi or Conjeeveram fell one by one before his

conquering arms. He then turned westwards and fell upon Ugrasena of Palakka, perhaps in the Nellore district. From there he marched northwards, subjugated the kingdoms of Kubera of Devarashtra and Damana of Erandapalla, Kusthalapura and Avamukta. These kingdoms he did not annex, he simply demanded from the conquered kings in the South an acknowledgment of submission.

The frontier kings did not wait for the king to send his troops to demand submission. On orders being sent they agreed to pay taxes, to render obeisance to him, and to carry out his orders. There were a large number of kingdoms and republics on the borders of his empire. The following kingdoms are mentioned in the inscriptions: Samatata (Bengal between the Hooghly and the Brahmaputra), Davaka (North Bengal), Kamarupa (Assam) ; Nepal in the Himalayas, and Kartripura (probably Kumaon, Almora, Garhwal and Kangra).

Samudra Gupta dealt fairly with the republics, and was satisfied by simply receiving their submission. The Yaudheyas and the Madrakas were the tribes in the Punjab. The Arjunayanas, Malavas and Abhiras lived in the eastern Rajputana and Malwa. The situation of the territory of the Prarjunas, Sanakanikas, Kakas and Kharaparikas is not yet known.

Limits of the empire—The empire of the Gupta kings can be definitely known by ascertaining the position of the frontier kingdoms. So it is clear that it extended up to the Hooghly on the east, the Himalayas on the north, the Chambal on the west, and the Narmada on the south. It was a vast empire including the most flourishing parts of the country. The kingdoms and republics on the border, or in the south acknow-

ledged his supremacy in one way or another either by paying tribute, paying allegiance or carrying the orders in any other way. Samudra Gupta thus bound all the states of India in a chain of subsidiary alliance, and made himself the Lord-Paramount of the whole country

Relations with foreigns king.—As Samudra Gupta succeeded in establishing a strong empire the states in the neighbourhood of India solicited friendship with him. They sent him rich presents and offered their services to the king, whenever occasion required. The allies included the Daivaputras, Shahis, Shahanushahis, Sakas and Murundas, and the people of Sinhala and other islands.

The king Meghavarna of Ceylon sent an embassy to get permission from Samudra Gupta to build a monastery at Buddha Gaya for the Buddhist pilgrims from Ceylon. The permission was readily granted. A splendid building was accordingly erected near the famous Bodhi tree. Hiuen Tsang saw the monastery accommodating about a thousand monks of the Sthavira School of the Mahayana.

Samudra Gupta performed the *Asvamedha* ceremony in pomp and splendour to proclaim to the kings and potentates of India that he was the Lord-Paramount of the Indian states. No other Indian king performed the ceremony since the days of Pushyamitra, as no other king really occupied the position of the supreme lord. The Asvamedha sacrifice by itself cannot be taken as a sign of the revival of Hindu ceremonies. But there is ample evidence of the growing popularity of Hindu culture and ceremonies.

Personal accomplishments of Samudra Gupta.—Samudra Gupta peacefully reigned for about fifty

years. He was as much renowned for his personal accomplishments as for his generalship and kingly virtues. He was a patron of learning and was himself a poet. His various poetical compositions won for him the title of "king of poets." He was also well-known for his choral skill and musical accomplishments. He could play skilfully upon *vina,* a rather difficult art. Of all the Gupta kings Samudra Gupta is the best fitted to be called the greatest monarch of the times. He extended his dominions, formed strong alliances and established peace in the country. Harishena, his poet-laureate, rightly says, "his many wonderful and noble deeds are worthy to be praised for a very long time."

Chandra Gupta II Vikramaditya.—He was succeeded by his son Chandra Gupta in about 375 A. D. He assumed the title of Vikramaditya. The empire was extended by him by annexing Surashtra which was then in possession of the Saka Satraps. Samundra Gupta received an embassy from the Satrap Rudra Sena, but Chandra Gupta resolved to drive the foreign rulers from India. He attacked Rudra Simha, dethroned him, slew the Satrap and annexed his dominions in about 388 A. D. He also annexed Malwa and Guzerat, and extended his dominions up to the Arabian Sea. Connection with Western world was established through the ports, but it cannot be said that his Court and subjects were thereby brought under the influence of Western ideas. Broach, Sopara and Cambay were the principal ports on the west coast. Ujjain was an important distributing centre which was connected with all the important places within the country. The possession of these places must have increased the income of the state.

Chandra Gupta II enjoyed a long reign of about 40

years. The Gupta dominions reached their furthest limits under his strong and vigorous rule. He was a brave soldier, and used to fight with lions in order to display his strength and courage. It seems he removed his head-quarters to Ajodhya in Oudh, as Pataliputra was not central enough for a capital. Ujjain was the capital of the western provinces, and there developed a great literature which India is now proud of. There was also a splendid observatory at Ujjain, which was attended by a good number of famous astronomers such as Aryabhatta and Varahamihira.

Visit of Fa-Hien.—It was during the reign of Chandra Gupta II that the Chinese pilgrim Fa-Hien visited India. He came to India to collect authentic texts of the *Vinaya-pitaka*. He left China in 399 A. D. He came by the south of the Gobi desert through Sha-chow and Labnor to Khotan. Then he came across the Pamirs to Udayana or Swat. From there he visited Takshasila (Taxila) and Purushapura (Peshawar). He spent ten years in India from 401 to 410 A. D. and visited all the important places in Northern India such as Mathura, Kanouj, Sravasti, Kapilavastu, Kusinara, Vaisali, Pataliputra, Rajgir, Gaya, Benares, Kausambi, Champa and Tamralipti. He lived at Pataliputra for three years, and at Tamralipti for two years, from where he sailed for Ceylon. The voyage from Tamralipti to Ceylon took him two weeks. After staying for two years in Ceylon he returned to China *via* Java.

The account of India as recorded by Fa-Hien is extremely interesting. It is from his writings that the historians have collected so much information regarding the social, moral and economic condition of the people, although he does not mention the names of any of the kings.

He calls the Gangetic plains to the east of Mathura *Madhya-desa* or Mid-India. The countries to the west of Mathura constituted Western India. The kings of Western India were all Buddhists. He found most of the ancient places in the Himalayan region deserted. Sravasti, the ancient capital of Kosala, contained about 200 families. Kapilavastu and Kusinara were depopulated, and so were also Rajgir, Gaya and Kausambi. But other towns and cities were in a prosperous condition. The cities of Magadha were in a flourishing condition, and they were very large. Pataliputra was the capital of Magadha. He saw the remains of Asoka's palace still standing, which he heard was built by super-natural beings. There were monasteries both belonging to the Mahayana and the Hinayana Schools. The number of Sramanas in these two manasteries was about six hundred. Students from different parts of the world came there for study. The celebrated Brahman savant Manjusri was then residing at the Mahayana monastery at Pataliputra. He was held in highest reverence by the Sramanas and the Bhikshus.

Buddhism was still the religion of a large number of the people. He saw numerous monasteries on the banks of the Jumna, and the kings of Western India were all Buddhists. The Sramanas received from the kings and the people all marks of respect. At Pataliputra he witnessed the processions of chariots carrying the image of Buddha. These chariots were four-wheeled and five-storied. The procession drew a huge concourse of people, who spent the night in great rejoicing. The kings, nobility and rich citizens of India considered it an act of religious merit to endow monasteries, and to make gifts of land, gardens, and houses for the use

of Sramanas. They recorded their grants in copper plates, and these grants could on no account be forfeited. Inscriptions corroborating this statement have been found. The Kakanada-bota Inscription at Sanchi records the grant of a village and a sum of money for the maintenance of five Bhikshus by Amrakardava, who was probably an officer of Chandra Gupta II.

Fa-Hien was struck with the good government of Madhya-desa. The revenue was derived from the crownlands, people had not to pay any taxes. There was no restriction upon the movement of the people. They were not required to take any passports as in China. Capital punishment or any corporal punishment did not exist. Fines were imposed according to the gravity of the offence. Rebellion was sometimes punished with amputation of the right hand. Men in the service of the king received fixed salary. The government did not interfere with the rights of the people. The people were free and prosperous.

"Throughout the country no one kills any living thing, or drinks wine, or eats onions or garlic, they do not keep pigs or fowls; there are no dealings in cattle no butcher's shops or distilleries in their market places." Only the Chandals or low-class people who lived outside the city did not observe these rules. They were looked down upon by the people, and whenever they entered the city they had to strike a piece of wood in order that others might not be defiled by their touch.

The pilgrim saw a large number of hospitals in the city of Pataliputra endowed by the people and the rich citizens. The patients received free treatment and freefood. The physicians were very attentive in their duties and the patients were admitted irrespective of their creed or caste.

The picture drawn by Fa-Hien represents the true life of the people. The government of the kings was not oppressive, on the other hand everybody was happy under them. The kings of Mid-India were not Buddhists but they followed the tradition of Asoka and other catholic rulers in maintaining a spirit of benevolent neutrality. The people were also very zealous in promoting social good by endowing hospitals, and monasteries. The spirit of *Ahimsa* still continued as an active force. Brahmans respected Buddhist Sramanas and Buddhists reciprocated their feelings for Brahman scholars. There was no antagonism between Brahmanism and Buddhism.

Kumar Gupta I.—Chandra Gupta II was succeeded by his son Kumar Gupta I in about 413 A. D. Kumara reigned for forty years, and the empire remained intact throughout this long reign. He also celebrated the Asvamedha in imitation of his grand-father, but the occasion of the sacrifice is not known. He might have conquered some new territory or might have subdued some rebellions, and to commemorate his victory the great sacrifice was performed. India was visited by a tribe called the Pushyamitras towards the end of his reign. Another nomadic horde called the Hunas from Central Asia was approaching towards India in the middle of the fifth century. Kumar Gupta I died in 455 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Skanda Gupta.

Skanda Gupta.—The last great king of the Gupta dynasty was Skanda Gupta. He had to meet two dangers that threatened the empire. First he had to deal with the Pushyamitras, most probably a tribe of the north. These people possessed great power and wealth, and it was very difficult for Skanda Gupta to subdue them. It is

stated in the Bhitari Stone pillar inscription that the prince had to spend a night on bare earth while engaged in war with them. The enemy was defeated and Skanda Gupta retrieved the tottering fortune of his dynasty.

The Hunas from Central Asia came as it were in a whirl-wind. The nomadic hordes were driven off by the strong arms of Skanda Gupta, and India was saved for the time being. The victory over the Hunas, which was achieved in the early part of his reign, has been celebrated in the stone pillar dedicated to the image of Sarngin at Bhitari. The Junagadh Rock Inscription which is dated 458 A. D. mentions the defeat of the Hunas, and it can be inferred from this that the Huna invasion was repulsed a year or two before 458 A. D.

Skanda Gupta however could not enjoy peace very long. The Hunas returned in larger numbers in about 465 A. D. Skanda Gupta could not repel the attack, and the empire was shattered, although the Gupta kings retained their power for some time in the eastern parts. On the previous occasion Skanda Gupta could mobilise all his resources and utilise the services of his governors throughout the empire. But it is probable that when the Hunas came later he did not receive the help of all his subordinate chiefs and governors. He had to reduce the weight of coins to meet the extraordinary expenses of the war. But nothing did avail. The result was disastrous. The Hunas had already conquered the kingdom of Kabul then under the Kushans, and the kingdom of Gandhar. They made Peshawar their base and from there penetrated into India. The western provinces of the empire were occupied. Skanda Gupta thereafter ruled from Pataliputra over reduced territories. He died in 480 A. D.

Successors of Skanda Gupta.—Skanda Gupta had no son. He was succeeded by his brother **Pura Gupta.** The only event which is known in his reign was the attempt to restore the purity of the coinage which was debased by Skanda Gupta under the stress of war. He died in 485 A. D. His son **Narasimha Gupta Baladitya** succeeded him. The Hunas had become more formidable by defeating and slaying king Firoz of Persia in 484 A. D. The invasion into India was led by a chieftain named Toramana. By 500 A. D. he established himself as ruler of Malwa, and made the local rulers his tributaries. Hiuen Tsang says that Baladitya, king of Magadha, defeated the Hunas. But there is no such mention in the inscriptions. He also says that Baladitya built a beautiful temple, 300 feet high, in the University town of Nalanda. Nara Simha Gupta Baladitya died in 505 A. D. and was succeeded by his son **Kumar Gupta II.** By the middle of the sixth century the dynasty of the Guptas ceased to rule Magadha. A branch of the imperial dynasty appeared later as local rulers of Magadha, who shared their government of the province with another clan known as the Maukhari.

The Hunas.—The Hunas, as we have already seen, were a nomadic tribe living in the steppes of Central Asia. When they were pressed for subsistence one stream went into Europe and another came southwards into the Oxus Valley. In Europe they occupied the territory between the Volga and the Danube. They became very terrible under their leader Attila. But on his death in 453 A. D. they again became disunited and their empire was shattered into pieces by another horde of nomads from Northern Asia. The

section of the Hunas who invaded India was known as the Ephthalites or the White Hunas. They first attacked in 465 A. D. but were repulsed by Skanda Gupta. The king of Persia suffered a fatal defeat at their hands in 484 A. D., and thereafter they invaded India with redoubled vigour which Skanda Gupta could not withstand. They penetrated into India as far as Malwa, under **Toramana** who appears in some inscriptions as Maharajadhiraja. Toramana came to Central India towards the end of the fifth century. The local Rajas became his tributaries. He died in about 510 A. D. and was succeeded by his son **Mihirakula.**

The Hunas by this time had acquired an extensive territory. Bamyin near Herat was the capital of the empire. The Chinese envoy Song-Yun, who visited the place in 519 A. D., says that the Huna king received tributes from forty countries, extending from the frontier of Persia to Khotan. Mihirakula was a subordinate chief of the great Huna king of Bamyin. Sakal (modern Sialkot) was his capital. He was a cruel tyrant, and the sufferings of the people under his savage rule knew no bounds. The Indians once more made up their mind to drive the foreigners away. Raja Yasodharman of Central India, who ruled from the Himalayas to the Western Ocean, brought about the overthrow of the Huna chiefs, with the aid of Narasimha Baladitya of Magadha in 530 A. D. Mihirakula was taken a prisoner but was kindly released by Baladitya. He retired into Kashmir, and managed to retain his power over Gandhara with the help of the Raja of Kashmir. He died before 540 A. D., and the people rejoiced at his death. The Hunas could not recover their position in India after the death of Mihirakula, and their dominion

in Asia was conquered from them by the Turks and the Persians combined between 563 and 567 A. D.

Smaller kingdoms on the fall of the Gupta Empire.—A number of smaller kingdoms assumed independence on the decline of the Gupta Empire. Mention has already been made of **Yasodharman**. He has been described in the Mandasor inscription as the Raja of Central India, and that he overthrew Mihirakula in 533 A. D. His territory extended from the Brahmaputra to the Mountain Mahendra and from the Himalayas to Western Ocean. Further information regarding the Raja of Central India is not available. There was another Raja named Vishnudharman who lived towards the Vindhyas, and who was probably in subordinate ailiance with Yasodharman.

The Eran Stone pillar inscription mentions a king named **Buddha Gupta** who was on the throne of Western Mahoa in 484, and another king named **Bhanu Gupta** in 510 A. D. They were most probably connected with the early Gupta kings of Magadha. Toramana invaded India after Buddha Gupta and before Bhanu Gupta.

Valabhi kings.—Bhatarka, entitled *Senapati,* was probably a general of the Gupta kings in Kathiwar. His son Dharasena I was also a *Senapati,* but another son Dronasimha assumed the title of Maharaja. Two other brothers Dhruvasena and Dharapatta succeeded him. Guhasena, son of the latter, followed him and then his grandson Dharasena II who was the Maharaja of Valabhi in 571 A. D. The Valabhi kings do not seem to have been independent from the beginning. They asserted their independence after the destruction of the Huna power. They remained in power till 770 A. D. Valabhi was a rich and prosperous city when Hiuen Tsang visited

India. It was the residence of two great Buddhist teachers Gunamati and Sthiramati. The Chinese traveller I-tsing compares Nalanda in Bihar and Valabhi in Kathiwar, the two important centres of learning in India, with the famous Universities of China. Valabhi is identified with Wala, the chief town of a state of the same name in Kathiwar. One of the later kings of this dynasty, Dhruvabhata, was defeated by Harshavardana, and was compelled to marry his daughter. His uncle Siladitya was a pious Buddhist. He was a Raja of Mo-la-po or Western Malwa. Both Siladitya and Dhruvabhata were conquered by Harsha.

CIVILIZATION OF THE GUPTA PERIOD.

The civilization of the Gupta period was a "revival of Aryan culture and of Aryan polity, which owing to the disturbed conditions of Hindustan and the corruption of Aryan ideals, were becoming decadent and stood in need of revision. The profound peace which a firm central government established opened the highways of commerce, promoted a great activity in all the arts of peace, and brought about a general revival of Aryan learning—philosophy, science, poetry and the drama—all of which sectarians include under the vague designation of "Hinduism." (E. B. Havell). The great works of art have been destroyed by the Mahomedan conquerors; some only are still to be found in the distant places. But the literature and philosophy still exist to increase the glory of Ancient India.

Revival of Sanskrit.—Asoka issued his Edicts in the vernaculars of the people, and the literature of the times found a convenient medium in Pali. The inscriptions in India were written in Pali till we come to the middle of the second century A. D. The ancient epics and the

other literature of the Aryan ancestors were assiduously cultivated by the people. The inscriptions of the Gupta period were all written in high-flown Sanskrit. Kalidasa, the greatest poet of India, wrote his famous poems and dramas during the first half of the fifth century when Chandra Gupta II and then Kumar Gupta adorned the throne of Magadha. There were many other poets and scholars besides Kalidasa. The famous dramas *Mrichchakatika* and *Mudra Rakshasa* were written in this age. The *Vaya Puran* and the *Manu Samhita* received their present forms. Mathematics and Astronomy made very great progress. Aryabhatta and Varaha Mihira wrote books in these abstruse sciences which are still admired by the scientists. The age is marked by a great intellectual upheaval.

Education.—The intellectual movement was not confined to a few. It was fostered in the famous centres of learning. Takshasila was a famous university near modern Rawalpindi from before the invasion of Alexander. Chandragupta Maurya and Chanakya received their education there. Benares and Ujjain then rose into importance. Nalanda in Bihar developed into a great university after the decease of Buddha. A great mango garden was offered to Buddha by a number of merchants to hold his religious discourses there. King Sakraditya of Magadha built there a monastery, and then many other kings and rulers erected monastery after monastery. The Gupta kings supported these monasteries, and we are told that Narasimha Gupta Baladitya looked upon the place with great favour. Nalanda was the biggest and the best university in India when Hiuen Tsang visited the country. Its fame was carried far beyond the borders of India. The university of Valabhi was also

an important centre of learning. Education made the highest progress in Magadha and Malwa. I-tsing says that the University of Nalanda was supported out of the produce of 200 villages which were given as endowment to it by the people. There were 10,000 students reading in the University, which contained eight big halls, three hundred rooms and a large number of chapels. If ten thousand students could come to one University for the completion of their study there must have been a net-work of schools for elementary education.

Art and Architecture.—The plastic and pictorial arts felt the same impulse of life as literature and science. Innumerable monasteries and temples were erected to express the sense of spiritual hankering of the people. Their devotion took shape in the various beautiful structures which however have been destroyed by the unsympathetic invaders of later ages. We learn from the inscriptions that temples were dedicated to Vishnu, votive columns were erected in honour of the Sun, monasteries were given over to the Buddhist Sangha, and even temples were built for the spiritual culture of the Jainas. The remains of most of these edifices cannot be traced. But whatever have been discovered bear ample testimony to the richness of the creative genius of the Indians. The excavations at Sarnath have yielded very valuable results. Buddhist monasteries and statues of Buddha of the fifth and sixth centuries have been discovered. Statues and other sculptures have been found in various places of Northern India. They all bear the marks of an independent style with very little foreign influence. The figures of the gods, goddesses, of Buddha and the Bodhisattvas, with their characteristic decora-

tions are purely Indian. The temples and the monasteries represent the Indian ideals. The temples were mainly of the type of the Mount of Vishnu to represent the *rajasic* aspect of the civilization. The people were imbued with a spirit of self-assertion and it was expressed in grand and superb edifices, beautiful sculpture and splendid paintings, and in rich literature. The cave-monasteries at Ajanta, the sculptures found at Sarnath, the frescoes on the walls of the Ajanta temples still stand as so many monuments of the artistic genius of the period.

In the year 456 A. D. a breach in the great Sudarsana lake in Kathiwar was restored by an officer under Párṇadatta, the governor of the province, when Skanda Gupta was the monarch of Pataliputra. The lake has a history of its own. Pushyagupta, the governor of Chandragupta Maurya, first devised the scheme of creating a reservoir by damming a small stream near Girnar for irrigation purposes. But he could not complete the work, which was done in the reign of Asoka by the Persian governor Raja Tushaspha. During the great storm of 150 A. D. the embankment gave way, and the lake overflooded the country. The embankment was rebuilt by order of the Saka Satrap Rudradaman of the Western provinces, and was made three times stronger. Again in 456 A. D. the Sudarsana lake burst during the heavy rains, and the streams which fed it became furious. Chakrapalita an officer under governor Parnadatta, repaired the embankment. The lake thus stood as the witness of the care which the rulers paid to the works of public utility. The spirit of good government continued from the early times down to the fifth century A. D. Unfortunately many such evidences

of the devotion of the Indian kings to the public good have not been discovered.

Social condition.—Buddhism, Hinduism and Jainism flourished side by side. There was no antagonism between them. We have seen that in a monastery at Pataliputra there dwelt a Brahman savant, and he was held in highest veneration. The number of Hindu temples increased and there was a revival of Hindu ceremonials. The social institutions gradually developed on the modern lines. The caste system was an established institution but it had not yet attained its rigidity. Inter-marriages were allowed although they were not looked upon with favour. People were not bound to follow a fixed occupation according to the caste rules The Mandasor Stone inscription of Kumar Gupta relates how a band of silk-weavers who came from Lata to Dasapura took up other occupations. While some excelled in their own business, others either took up archery, or became soldiers, or followed the profession of astrologers and bards or took up some business according to their inclination.

The economic condition of the country was very satisfactory. The description of the city of Dasapura in Scindhia's dominions gives a vivid idea of the wealth, grandeur and beauty of the industrial cities. Dasapura was surrounded by mountains clad in big forests and two streams passed by it. There were numerous lakes adorned with water-lilies, and many flower-trees stood on their banks. The houses were long and many-storied. Big gardens were attached to these houses, and they all presented a look of joy and happiness. Each trade had its own guild or corporation. These corporations were well-organised, and they were not con-

fined to one place. They created and managed endowments. The prosperity of the country must have been the result of good government. Industries did not depend entirely upon royal patronage. Their development was greatly due to non-interference and the excellent condition of the roads and communications.

The Gupta period has been described as the Golden Age of India, and the epithet is not at all inappropriate. The coins of the Gupta Kings were also polished and bore beautiful designs. The system of sale and exchange was of an advanced type. Trade with foreign countries was carried on on an extensive scale. This state of things however did not long continue. The fall of the Empire was followed by dark days and depression in all other departments.

CHAPTER XIV.

HARSHA-VARDHANA.

A. D. 606 TO 647.

Rise of Thaneswar.—A number of small states came into existence on the downfall of the Gupta kings. The Hunas settled in the North-Western Punjab, and the smaller Rajput states gradually rose into prominence. Towards the end of the sixth century Prabhakar-Vardhana king of Thaneswar, defeated the Hunas and some Rajput princes in his neighbourhood, and made an attempt once more to consolidate the whole Northern India under one king. He was connected with the ancient Gupta kings through his mother Mahasena-Gupta. Naturally therefore he wanted to attain the glory of his illustrious ancestors. He carried on successful wars against the Malavas, the Gurjaras and the Hunas. In 604 A. D. he sent his elder son Rajya-Vardhana assisted by his younger son Harsha to repel the attack of the Hunas on the north-west frontier. While the Prince was engaged against the enemy the king fell ill, and Harsha returned to the capital. On the death of his father Harsha managed the affairs of the statet ill the return of his elder brother. As soon as Rajya-Vardhan had assumed his powers as king, he received the news of the murder of the king of Kanouj by the king of Malwa. Graha Varman Maukhari, the king of Kanouj, was the husband of his sister Rajyasri who was cruelly treated by the murderer. Rajya-Vardhana hastened to the rescue of his sister, defeated the king of Malwa, but he was treacherously (?) murdered by Sasanka, the king

of Gaur (Central Bengal), an ally of his enemy. Rajyasri fled to the Vindhyan forests in this state of confusion. (606 A. D.).

Harsha-Vardhana.—Prince Harsha was invited by the councillors of the state to occupy the throne as he was the eldest of all the claimants. The son of Rajya-Vardhana was an infant. For six years Harsha was busy in bringing order out of chaos and anarchy which ensued the death of his brother. The first task of the new ruler was the recovery of his sister who in a desperate condition was about to burn herself alive. With the help of some aboriginal chiefs Harsha succeeded in finding her whereabouts. In the meantime Sasanka, the murderer of his brother, escaped. When he made his position secure he performed his coronation ceremony in 612 A. D. He became the king of Thaneswar and Kanouj, and made the latter his capital. His sister was associated with him in the administration of the country. He was a young man of seventeen when he succeeded his brother.

Harsha's expedition.—After restoring order in his own kingdom he set out on an extensive tour of conquest with a view to bring the whole of India under one Government. His military strength was immense. His force consisted of 5,000 elephants, 20,000 cavalry and 50,000 infantry when he started his campaign. In the course of first five years and a half he brought under subjection the country in the north-west, and a large part of Bengal. By that time his forces had also increased to 60,000 elephants and 100,000 infantry.

In about 620 A.D. he led an expedition against the Chalukya king of the Deccan, Pulakesin II. Harsha-vardhana found in the Chalukya king a formidable foe,

suffered a defeat in his hands and was forced to recognise the Narmada river as the southern boundary of his territory. This was the only defeat he suffered in his long career of victory.

His campaign against Valabhi and the other kingdoms of Guzerat was very successful. Dhruvabhat II, the king of Valabhi, was an ally of the Chalukya kings. He was forced to sue for peace, and to marry a daughter of Harsha in about 633 A.D. The kings of Anandapura, Cutch and Kathiwar also recognised the supremacy of the king of Kanouj. His last campaign was directed against Ganjam on the Bay of Bengal in 643 A.D.

Extent of Harsha's empire.—His empire extended from the Himalayas to the Narmada, and from the Punjab to the borders of Assam. The administration of the country was left in the hands of the local Rajas all of whom acknowledged him as their suzerain. In the great assembly at Kanouj eighteen Rajas attended his Court. The Raja of Assam had also to acknowledge him as his superior monarch.

Mode of government.—Harsha ruled his vast territory on a purely personal basis. He was constantly on the move except during the rainy season, administering justice and supervising the work of the local rajas. The usual accommodation for the emperor was provided in an improvised travelling palace, made of boughs and reeds, at each halting place. The tents of the later time did not then come into use. These temporary habitations were set fire to at the departure of the emperor. The march of the emperor was accompanied by the music of the golden drums. His administration was marked by justice and benevolence. The revenue was derived mainly

from the rent of the crown lands, which was assessed at about one-sixth of the produce. The officials received grants of land in lieu of their pay. The labourers were duly paid for their services rendered to the state. Taxes were not heavy, and subjects were not forced to render free personal services. The king was liberal in charity towards all religious communities. He used to distribute all his accumulated treasure to the religious teachers of different sects and to the poor and the needy at the end of every five years. The king thus lived for the people and the people reciprocated their love for the king. The system of punishment was not of an advanced type. Imprisonment was the ordinary penalty. Mutilation of limbs was generally the penalty for serious offences, but this was very often commuted into banishment. Fines were imposed for minor offences. Ordeal by water, fire, weighment or poison was an effective method of ascertaining the truth.

Education.—There is evidence to prove that education was widely spread, specially among the Brahmans and the Buddhist monks. But learning was not the monopoly of any one class of men. There was an organised system of education. At the first stage children were taught the alphabets and a book called *Siddha-vastu* containing 12 chapters. At the age of seven they commenced the study of the *"Five Sastras,"* viz., 1. *Sabda-vidya* (Etymology), 2. *Silpa Sthana Vidya* (science of arts and crafts), 3. *Chikitsa* (medicine). 4. *Hetu Vidya* (Logic) and 5. *Adhmyatma Vidya* (Principles of philosophy and theology). Education was therefore of a comprehensive type training young men in the art of living as well as in the art of thinking and expressing their thoughts. The method of teaching was oral. The

teachers were earnest and industrious. They inspired their pupils to exert themselves. The dull and the inert were infused with enthusiasm by their able teaching. The pupils used to live with their teachers up to the age of thirty. After completing their education the pupils used to pay *Dakshina* (reward) to their teachers. The Buddhist Bhikshus were very useful in spreading knowledge from place to place. The Buddhist monasteries were centres of learning. The monasteries at Takshasila, Nalanda and Vikramsila were the most famous universities of the time. Takshasila was reputed for its school of medicine and Ujjain for astronomy. Nalanda was the centre of Buddhist teaching of all schools.

Harsha was a great patron of learning. The poet Bana was the greatest ornament of his Court. He wrote the *Harsha-charita*, a historical romance describing in high-flown language the exploits of his hero. Harsha himself was a poet. His drama *Nagananda* is considered to be one of the best dramas written in Sanskrit. *Ratnavali* and *Priyadursika* are his two other productions.

Harsha's Religion.—The members of the royal family to which Harsha belonged followed different religions according to their individual choice. One of his ancestors Pushya-bhuti, was a worshipper of Siva. Harsha's father was a Sunworshipper. His brother and sister were Buddhists of the Hinayana School. Harsha was an eclectic in faith. He paid his devotions to Siva, to Sun as well to Buddha. Towards the end of his life he was inclined more towards Buddhism. Both he and his sister showed their preference to Mahayana philosophy under the influence of the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang who spent a few years with him. Although he liked the Mahayana

Buddhism most he did not withdraw his support from other religions. Hindus, Buddhists, and Jains uniformly received benevolence from him. He was not particularly harsh upon any one creed. He punished a number of people who made an attempt upon his life at the instigation of jealous Brahmans. The guilty Brahmans were deported, but no one was punished for avowing any faith. He maintained his position as an impartial monarch. His toleration was not of tho negative type but it found expression in an active support of all movements which aimed at the spiritual welfare of the people.

Shortly after the departure of Hiuen Tsang king Harsha died in 647 A.D. He left no heir, and his minister Arjuna or Arunasva usurped the throne. Harsha maintained friendly relations with China, and exchanged embassies with that country. Wang-hiwn-tse was in command of the Chinese embassy when Harsha died. The members of the escort of the envoys were massacred by Arjuna. But the envoys escaped to Tibet. The Tibetan king, Strong-tsan Gampo married a Chinese princess, and was on ally of the king of China. He sent a strong army against Arjuna. Tirhut was annexed and Arjuna taken a prisoner to China. Within a short time after the death of Harsha-Vardhana his vast empire was again torn into pieces. A number of smaller principalities arose on its ruins.

Condition of India in the time of Harsha.—The best account of the time is derived from the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang who visited India between 630 and 644 A. D. His *Travels* is a source of authentic information for the social, political and religious conditions of almost all the parts of India. His biography written by his

friend Hwni-li supplies many additional details. The official Chinese histories also contain references to Indian events of the period. Besides we have the invaluable book of Bana presenting the career of the Emperor in high-flown Sanskrit.

Itinerary of Hiuen Tsang.—Hiuen Tsang was a great scholar. After mastering all the literature on Buddhism available in China he started on a pilgrimage to India to learn Buddhistic philosophy in the land of the Master. He left China in 629 A. D. and crossed Central Asia with great difficulty. He came to Kapisa at the foot of the Hindu Kush, passing Ferghana, Samarkand, Bokhara and Balkh on the way. From Kapisa he visited Langhan, Nagarhar, Gandhar and Udyana beyond the Indus. Then he crossed the great river and reached Taxila. Kashmir and the important towns in the Punjab were next visited. Proceeding eastward he came to Magadha, and visited the important places connected with the life of Buddha, such as Kapilavastu, Kusinara, Sravasti, Benares, Gaya, Rajgir and other places. He spent a considerable portion of his time in the monasteries, and studied from the monks Buddhist scriptures. At the great monastery of Nalanda he had the privilege of reading under Silabhadra. He became known as the Master of the Law. He was invited by Kumara, the king of Kamrupa, and then he came to Harsha who held him in great veneration. He also went to many places in Central India, Bengal and the Deccan. From the Deccan he went to the Malabar coast, and then completed his itinerary by visiting Guzerat and Sindh. He returned to China by Central Asia in 645 A. D. He carried a large number of manuscripts and Buddhistic relics from India, and devoted the latter portion of

his life in writing the *Travels* and translating the books he collected.

Kanouj and Harsha.—A full account of the places, including history and extant traditions, have been recorded in the *Travels*. A connected history of India would have been impossible but for the vast store of information left by the Chinese traveller. The description of Kanouj and Harshavardhana is a very pleasant one. At the time of Fa-Hien there were only two Buddhist monasteries at Kanouj but Hiuen Tsang saw about 100. From this it seems Buddhism made some progress in the capital. Harsha forbade the use of animal food and capital punishments. He erected thousands of stupas on the banks of the Ganges, established travellers' rest-houses throughout his dominions, and erected Buddhist monasteries at sacred places of the Buddhists.

We further learn from him that Harsha held a convocation at the end of every five years and gave away in charity everything except the materials of war. He used to summon all the Buddhist monks together once a year, and organise discussions on religious questions. The learned and honest scholars were amply rewarded, but the immoral and careless members of the Order were banished from his presence and the country. The king used to distribute food to 1,000 Buddhist monks and 500 Brahmans daily wherever he might be in the course of his tour.

Cities and houses.—The description of the general features of the cities and buildings of India given by the pilgrim is very interesting. The quadrangular walls of the cities, he says, are "broad and high, while the thoroughfares are narrow, tortuous passages. The shops

are on the highways and booths line the roads." Butchers, fishermen, public performers, executioners and scavengers were treated by the people with contempt. They had their habitations marked by a distinguishing sign, and they were forced to live outside the city and they had to sneak along on the left when going about in the hamlets. The city walls were built of bricks while walls of houses and enclosures of wattled bamboo or wood. The ordinary houses were thatched with grass, and differed very little from the structures in the villages of India found at present. The Buddhist monasteries, on the other hand, were of remarkable architecture. They had a tower at each of the four corners of the quadrangle, and three high walls in a tier. The rafters and roof beams were carved with the strange figures, and the doors, windows and walls were painted in various colours. The houses of the laity were sumptuous inside and economical outside.

Dress and personal characteristics.—People of India in general have changed very little in their dress since the day of Hiuen Tsang. The contact with the West has effected some changes in cities and among the educated people only. We find in the accounts of Hiuen Tsang: "The inner clothing and outward attire of the people have no tailoring; as to colour a fresh white is esteemed and motley is of no account. The men wind a strip of cloth round the waist and upto the armpits and have the right shoulder bare. The women wear a long robe which covers both shoulders and falls down loose." The materials used generally were silk (Kausheya), muslin, calico, kshauma (a kind of linen), and wool. Close-fitting jackets were used in North India where the climate

was very cold. There were also some non-Buddhists who wore peacock's tails. Some people adorned themselves with a necklace of skulls. There were also some people who were quite naked, and some who covered their body with grass or boards. "The Kshatriyas and Brahmans" goes on the description, "are clean-handed and unostentatious, pure and simple in life and very frugal. The dress and ornaments of the kings and grandees are very extraordinary. Garlands and tiaras with precious stones are their head-adornments, and their bodies are adorned with rings, bracelets, and necklaces. Wealthy mercantile people have only bracelets. Most of the people go bare-footed and shoes are rare." The people were pure in habits and they must have a wash before every meal.

Language.—Hiuen Tsang has made a statement to the effect that the Sanskrit alphabet was invented by the god Brahma. The story has been repeated by several Buddhist writers. There is another tradition that a king named Brahma invented the letters and hence the Brahmi script, and another king Kharostha invented the script called after him Kharoshthi. The Chinese pilgrim mentions 47 letters in the Alphabet. The people of Mid-India were "pre-eminently explicit and correct in speech, their expressions being harmonious and elegant, like those of the devas, and their intonation clear and distinct, serving as rule and pattern for others." This holds good even upto the present time. "The people of neighbouring territories and foreign countries repeating errors until these became the norm and emulous for vulgarities," observes Hiuen Tsang, "have lost the pure style."

The state of education has already been described.

There were separate custodians of the archives and records. The official annals recorded in detail the calamities and good fortune of the people. These annals were collectively called Nilapita (Dark-blue store).

The state of Buddhism.—Different schools had arisen who held different views with regard to the teachings of Buddha. The religion was pure or diluted according to the spiritual insight and mental capacity of its adherents. There were eighteen schools of Buddhism, each famous for the defence and propagation of some peculiar doctrine. The Buddhist Church was principally divided into two sections, Hinayana (small vehicle) and Mahayana (great vehicle). The tenets of the two systems were widely different. "The Mahayanists had," says Watters, "a more expansive creed, a different standard of religious perfection, and a more elaborate cult than the Hinayanists. As to particular tenets, they differed very much from the early Buddhists in such matters as opinions about Arhats and Bodhisattvas, their views of the relation of Buddha to mankind, of the efficacy of prayer and worship, and of the elasticity of the Canon." The Hinayanists practised quiet thoughts, walking up and down and standing still while the Mahayanists practised Samadhi and Prajna.

There was a regular gradation among the members of the Brotherhood. "The Brother who expounds orally one treatise (or class of scripture) in the Buddhist Canon, whether Vinaya, Abhidharma or Sutra, is exempted from serving under the Prior; he who expounds two is invested with the outfit of a Superior; he who expounds three has Brethren deputed to assist him; he who expounds four has lay servants assigned to him; he who expounds five rides an elephant; he who

expounds six rides an elephant and has a surrounding retinue. Where the spiritual attainments are high, the distinctions conferred are extraordinary." Occasionally discussions were held in the assembly of the Brethren to test intellectual capacity and to judge moral character. There was a gradation of penalties for offences against the Vinaya. A reprimand for slight offences, for grave offences cessation of oral intercourse with the Brethren, and expulsion from the community for serious offences were generally the rule.

The caste system, as observed by Hiuen Tsang, had become rigid. The Brahmans strictly observed ceremonial purity, and kept their principles and lived continently. The Kshatriyas formed the second order. They had held sovereignty for many generations and they were marked by benevolence and mercy. The Vaisyas or the traders belonged to the third order. They bartered commodities and carried on trade far and near. The fourth class was that of the Sudras. They were agriculturists cultivating the soil. The members of a caste married within the caste. Relations, by the father's or the mother's side, did not intermarry, and a woman never contracted a second marriage. There were also menial castes and numerous classes or people according to their trade and occupation. In the Buddhist literature Kshatriyas formed the first order, but the Brahmans gradually rose into prominence and occupied the first position. The Sudras also had risen from the position of servants to that of agriculturists. That shows that they acquired property, and became important members of society. Other customs indicate the strict observance of purity among the people.

The army.—The kings were generally Kshatriyas. But occasionally other castes occupied the throne by rebellion and regicide. The soldiers formed a distinct caste, and they were adepts in military tactics. In peace they guarded the sovereign's residence and in war they became the intrepid vanguard. The army consisted of foot, horse, chariot and elephant soldiers. The commander-in-chief rode on an elephant and the officers on chariots. The infantry soldiers bore shield and spear and some sword. They were perfect experts in the use of all these implements of war.

The character of the people.—Hiuen Tsang gives a high tribute to the character of the Indian people. "They are of hasty and irresolute temperaments, but of pure moral principles. They will not take anything wrongfully, and they yield more than fairness requires. They fear the retribution for sins on other lives, and make light of what conduct produces in this life. They do not practise deceit and they keep their sworn obligations." says the pilgrim.

His description of the administration of justice is very interesting, as it shows the nature of the people and the humane treatment of the criminals.

"As the government is honestly administered and the people live together on good terms the criminal class is small. The statute law is sometimes violated and plots made agianst the sovereign; when the crime is brought to light the offender is imprisoned for life; he does not suffer any corporal punishment, but alive and dead he is not treated as member of the community (lit. as a man). For offences against social morality and disloyal and unfilial conduct, the punishment is to cut of the nose, or an ear, or a hand, or a foot,

banish the offender to another country or into the wilderness. Other offences can be atoned for by a money payment." The innocence or guilt of an accused person was determined by ordeal of either water, fire, weighing or poison. This system of justice compares favourably with the system of any other country on the face of the earth at that time. The offenders against social morality were so treated that they might not spread the contagion. There was no compromise with crime but at the same time there was no inhumanity. Revenge did not cry out "tooth for tooth" or "nail for nail." Capital punishment did not exist. Hiuen Tsang justly remarks that government was honestly administered, and as the people lived together on good terms the criminal class was small. This is the picture of a happy and contented people.

Revenue and Taxation.—The most important information supplied by the pilgrim is with reference to the relations between the government and the people. The government was generous and the official requirements few. Families were not registered and individuals were not subject to forced labour contributions. There was four-fold division of royal land: one part was for the expenses of government and state worship, one for the endowment of great public servants, one to reward high intellectual eminence, and one for acquiring religious merit by gifts to the various sects. People followed their hereditary profession, and managed their patrimony uninterfered as taxation was light and forced service sparingly used. Only one-sixth of the produce was paid as rent. Duties paid by the traders at ferries and barrier stations were light. The Government servants were paid according to their work. Ministers

of state and common officials all had their portion of land, and were maintained by the cities assigned to them. From these accounts it appears that the king devoted more than half of his revenue to promotion of learning and to religious purposes. Protection and general administration of the country did not cost more than half the revenue. Trade and commerce was lightly taxed, and the main source of revenue was the rent from land, which again was only one-sixth of the produce. The people were naturally therefore happy and prosperous. They had full control over the fruits of their labour.

Products of India.—In concluding the general survey of India Hiuen Tsang describes the general products of the country. He mentions various kinds of fruits and flowers, herbs and trees. Mango, tamarind, plum, apple, myrabolam, plantain, were in abundance. From Kashmir downwards, pears, plums, peaches, apricots, grapes were planted here and there. Pomegranates and sweet oranges were grown in all the countries. The principal agricultural products were rice, wheat, ginger, mustard, melons, pumpkins, etc. Onions and garlic were little used, aud those who used them were ostracised. The common food of the people consisted of milk, ghee, granulated sugar, sugar-candy, cakes, and parched grain with mustard-seed oil. Fish, mutton and venison were occasional dainties. The flesh of oxen, asses, elephants, horses, pigs, dogs, foxes, wolves, lions, monkeys and apes was forbidden, and those who took such food became *pariahs*.

The Kshatriyas used the wines from the vine and sugarcane, the Vaisyas a strong distilled spirit, the Buddhist monks and the Brahmans drank syrup of

grapes and sugarcane. The low mixed castes had no distinguishing drink.

The house-hold utensils were mostly of earthen ware, very few of brass. Generally they did not use spoons or chop-sticks except in cases of sickness. They took their food with their fingers.

Gold, silver, bronze, white-jade, and crystal links were found in abundance in the country. Rare precious substances could be had in exchange for merchandise. Gold and silver coins, couries and small pearls were the media of exchange in the commerce of the country.

CHAPTER XV.

SMALLER KINGDOMS OF NORTHERN INDIA.

Weakness of the smaller states.—There is no unity in the history of India from the middle of the seventh century to the end of the twelfth when Mahomedan conquerors established themselves. No king could get himself recognised as the paramount ruler of India. The old local Rajas became free and independent. Mutual jealousy and fear swayed their relations, and sometimes one kingdom succeeded in absorbing the territory of another. But as the period was absolutely free from foreign invasions the causes which brought about a strong centralised government on previous occasions did not operate, and when the foreigners did come the smaller states of India were found fully unprepared for such an emergency, and they were all swept away by the incoming torrents. For internal administration of the country the Indian States in the Middle Ages were sufficiently equipped. People were happy and prosperous. The course of trade and commerce was uninterrupted. There was enough of wealth to allow people to indulge in fine arts and to grant numerous religious endowments. The paintings have not escaped the ravages of climate, but the large number of temples which stand even upto the present time are monuments of the skill and dexterity of the Indian architects. There can be no doubt from these facts that there was good government in the country. But the danger came from outside. Internal peace could not endure against formidable invasions. The states could have rolled back the

waves of foreign troops if they had a strong combination among themselves. This they lacked and it was difficult for one or a few states to save the situation.

It would have been very interesting to study the history of each of these states which reared their heads on the downfall of the Guptas or after the death of Harsha Vardhana. But the materials are scanty and a detailed account of these states is out of place in a general history. We shall however try to prepare a brief synopsis of the important of these states of Northern India, specially those which tried to set up a new empire.

Later Gupta kings of Magadha.—Shortly after the death of Skanda Gupta a distant scion of the family named Krishna Gupta appears to have established a naw line of kings in Magadha. The names of eleven kings of the dynasty are found from the inscriptions. They were local rulers, and their powers did not extend beyond the borders of Magadha. Their names are associated with another dynasty belonging to the Maukhari clan. But it cannot be said how their territories were divided.

Krishna Gupta was succeeded by his son Harsha Gupta. The third king of the dynasty was Jivita Gupta I, who was succeeded by his son Kumara Gupta. During the reign of either Jivita Gupta or Kumar Gupta a mission from the Chinese emperor Wu-ti or Hsiao Yen, came to India for the purpose of collecting Mahayanist texts and securing the services of an Indian scholar to translate them (532 A. D.). A learned scholar named Paramartha went to China and spent the remainder of his life there. Kumara Gupta made an alliance with the Maukhari chief Isana

Varmana, and died at Prayag. He was succeeded by Damodar Gupta. The next king was Mahasena Gupta who is reputed to have defeated the Maukhari chief Sushitavarman. When Harsha Vardhana became the paramount ruler of India Madhava Gupta was the Raja of Magadha. His son Aditya Sen asserted independence after the death of Harsha. Of the later Gupta Kings Aditya Sen appears to have been the most notable. He was a warrior and celebrated the *Asvamedha* sacrifice. Other kings of the family were Deva Gupta, Vishnu Gupta and Jivita Gupta II. The names of kings who ruled in the eighth century are not known. By the end of that century or the beginning of the ninth Magadha was conquered by the Pala kings of Bengal.

Rajput clans—The kings of ancient India were mainly Kshatriyas, and down to the seventh century the kingly duties were performed by the Kshatriya princes, or the Sudras assuming the position of Kshatriyas or the non-Aryan invaders who were recognised as Kshatriyas. By the end of the seventh century a new class of men arose who called themselves Rajputs. They wielded a great power in the administration of these states since the eighth century and most of the Princes of the present Indian States are Rajputs. The origin of these people is a subject of controversy. It is believed that most of the Rajput clans are of foreign origin. The old Scythians and Hunas who settled in India became Aryanised and called themselves Rajputs. The chiefs of India, whether of Kshatriya, Brahman, Sudra or any other caste, were all placed in the same rank. In Rajputana there is a legend current that after the destruction of the Kshatriyas by Parasu Rama the gods

produced a new race out of the cauldron of fire on Mount Abu to rule the earth. They are known as the *Agni-kula* clans comprising the Parihars, the Parmars, the Solankis, and the Chauhans. But it is believed that the Jats, Gurjars or Gujars, Chauhans, Solankis, and Gahlots are all of foreign origin. The original home of the Rajputs was Rajputana, that is, the country round Mount Abu, and Southern Oudh. They gradually spread throughout Northern India and established kingdoms from the Punjab to Bihar. The similarity of their occupations produced a type of homogeneous culture. All of them were warriors and they were all distinguished by a clan feeling of obedience to their chief. They recognised the equality of blood relations, and their property belonged to the community. Their social and political organisation resembles, to some extent, the feudal system of Europe. They were inspired with a sense of chivalry and held women in highest respect. Inter-marriage was in vogue among the different clans. Daughters could be married into a higher clan and wives could be taken from a lower one. Widows were burnt along with their dead husbands, and women performed *Johar* whenever there was any danger of their being dishonoured. On account of this culture of a vigorous and militant type the Rajputs maintained their power for a long time. The Mussalman conquerors of later ages did not succeed in extiguishing their government, and they still carry on their old duties.

The kingdom of Kanouj.—The empire of Harsha was broken up after his death, but the kingdon of Kanouj maintained its independence for some time more. Kanouj was originally the capital of the kingdom of

Panchala, but its old history is obscure. It rose into prominence under Harsha. A rebellion did take place after the death of the emperor and it was suppressed with the help of Nepal and Tibet. The history of Kanouj since then is not known till 731 A. D. when its king Yasovarman sent an embassy to China. Lalitaditya Muktapida, king of Kashmir, invaded Kanouj and dethroned Yasovarman between 736 and 747 A. D. Yasovarman was a patron of learning. Bhavabhuti, the author of the Sanskrit poem *Malatimadhava* and Vakpatiraja, a Prakrit author, received his patronage. His successor Vajrayudha was also defeated and dethroned by the Kashmir king Jayapida. In 800 A. D. the next king Indrayudha was dethroned by Dharmapala, king of Bengal and Bihar, and his place was taken by Chandrayudha who promised to pay homage and tribute to the king of Bengal. The Gurjara-Pratihara king of Rajputana also cast longing looks towards Kanouj. In about 816 A. D. Nagabhata deprived Chandrayudha of his throne, and removed the capital of the Gurjara-Pratihar kingdom from Bhilmal to Kanouj, which retained its position as the premier city of Northern India for more than a century more. Nagabhata suffered a great defeat at the hands of the Rathors of the Deccan. He was succeeded by Rambhadra (825-840). Kanouj once more became the capital of an empire under Rambhadra's son, Mihira. He is known as Bhoja I and ruled for about fifty years from 840 to - 890 A. D. His kingdom extended from Gawalior to the Himalayas and from Sutlej to the borders of Magadha. It is also presumed that he conquered Malwa and Surashtra. His son Mahendrapala succeeded him. The empire remained intact under his reign. His inscriptions have been

found at Gaya, which is taken as a proof of Magadha coming under the Pratihar kings. The celebrated poet Raja-Sekhara, author of the *Karpura-manjari,* was his teacher. His eldest son Bhoja II ruled from 908-910 A. D. The next king Mahipala (910—940 A. D.) could not maintain the supremacy of Kanouj. Surashtra and other distant provinces were conquered by the Rashtrakutas in 914 A. D. and Kanouj itself was captured by Indra III in 916 A. D. Mahipala however managed to recover Kanouj with the aid of the Chandel king and other allies. Henceforth the powers of the Chandel kings of Jejakabhukti began to increase. In the reign of the next king Devapala the Chandel king Yasovarman occupied the fortress of Kalanjar and later on the Jumna became the boundary between the kingdom of Panchala and Jejakabhukti. Gawalior was occupied by a Kachchwa chief named Vajradaman in the reign of Vijayapala (955—90). About the middle of the tenth century a Solanki chief, Mularaja established the kingdom of Anhilwara in Guzerat. When Mahmud of Ghazni invaded in 1019 A. D. Rajyapala, the king of Kanouj did not offer any resistance. The forts of the city were occupied and the temples destroyed by the conqueror. Rajyapala left Kanouj and made Bari on the other side of the Ganges his capital. As soon as Mahmud withdrew the neighbouring Hindu kings slew Rajyapala, and placed his son Trilochanapala on the throne. But Mahmud came back to punish the chiefs who had slain his vassal. He captured Bari and advanced into the Chandel kingdom. The Chandel king fled from the field and Mahmud returned with immense booty. The kings of Kanouj lost all their importance after this humiliation. The Pratihara kings then

disappear altogether from history after a reign of a few years more.

A Gaharwar or Rathor chief, Chandradeva, occupied Kanouj in 1090 A. D. and the dynasty founded by him was in possession of the place till it was subjugated by Shihab-ud-din in 1194 A. D. The last king of this dynasty was Raja Jaichand. His daughter was carried off by Rai Pithora of Ajmer.

Kanouj held a very important position in the Middle Ages. It was not only the capital of a great kingdom, but it was a centre of trade and learning. It was the richest city in Northern India. For a long time it was renowned as the place of pure Hindu culture. Bhahmans, Kayasthas and people of other castes were invited from Kanouj to Bengal, Guzerat and other provinces to rectify their customs and manners. The Kanoujiya Brahmans even now claim to possess pure Hindu customs.

The chief Rajput clans.—During the two and half centuries from the middle of the tenth ceutury to the end of the twelfth the political movement in India became strong in the provinces of Guzerat, Rajputana, Oudh and the Ganga-Jumna Doab. In other parts of India the government was carried on by weak princelings. The Punjab came under the rule of the Brahman "Shahi" kings of Ohind. They removed their capital to Lahore, and offered stout resistance to Mahmud of Ghazni, who annexed the Western Punjab in 1021 A. D.

A brief notice of the chief Rajput clans may be of interest to the general readers.

1. **The Solankis** were rulers of Guzerat and Kathiwar. The kingdom of Guzerat was founded by Mularaja

(941—93 A. D.) It lost its independence in 1298 A. D. when it was conquered by Ala-ud-din Khilji. Anhilwara or Patan was the capital of the kingdom. Guzerat was a prosperous country and enjoyed good government under the Solankis.

2. The **Parmars** claimed descent from the Moris, a branch of the Mauryas. They ruled over Malwa. Ugra Sen Parmar, the first king of the clan, came from Mount Abu in 83 A. D. Chandravati near Mount Abu, Ujjain and Dhar were the chief towns belonging to the clan. The most famous king of the clan was Bhoja (1010—1050 A.D.) The kingdom was overthrown by the Solankis in the twelfth century.

3. The **Gahlots** or Sesodias established themselves in Mewar under the leadership of Bapa. Guhila captured Chitor which remained the capital of the clan for 800 years. Mewar became a very important Rajput state during the Mahomedan period.

4. The **Chauhans** occupied the country from Mount Abu to Hissar and from the Aravallis to the neighbourhood of Hamirpur. Ajmer was their capital. Visal Deva conquered all the country from the Himalayas to the Vindhyas by 1163 A. D. His principal conquest was that of Delhi in 1153. A. D. The last and the most important king of the clan was Prithvi Raj (1172—1192).

5. The **Kachchwas** ruled Gawalior and Narwar from the ninth century till 1129 A. D. when during the careless government of Tej Karon a Parihar chief usurped the throne.

6. The **Chandels** captured Mahoba in Hamirpur in 831 A. D. and Kalanjar in 925 A.D. They had a long and peaceful government. The temples at Khajurabo

stand even now as the finest monuments of Rajput architecture. They were defeated by Prithvi Raj in 1182 A. D. and Kalanjar was occupied by the Mahomedans in 1193 A. D.

7. The **Tomars** occupied the country round about Delhi. Their first king Anangpal I is said to have built the city of Delhi in 756 A.D. But Anangpal II converted it into a strong fortress in 1052 A.D. The Chauhans of Ajmer and the Tomars of Delhi were fighting with each other. Their quarrel ended in the conquest of Delhi by the Chauhan chief Visal Deva in 1153 A. D.

Guzerat and Kanouj were the most compact, the richest, and the most powerful of all states in Northern India. The prosperity of Guzerat was due to the good government of the rulers, and to the possession of two important sea-ports of Broach and Cambay.

Raja Jaichand, the Rathor king of Kanouj, made an attempt to become the Lord-Paramount of Northern India. He arranged to celebrate the Asvamedha sacrifice (1175 A. D.) and all the Rajas came to the ceremony except Prithvi Raj. The Raja placed a golden statue of Prithvi Raj at the door-way to make up for his absence. Prithvi Raj visited the Court in disguise and carried off the daughter of Jaichand. Henceforth they were at deadly feud. In 1182 A. D. Prithvi Raj defeated the Chandel king of Mahoba and Kalanjar. He led the Hindu Rajas against Shihab-ud-din Ghori at the battle field of Tilauri near Thaneswar, and succeeded in repelling the invaders at first. But when the Mahomedans returned with larger forces in 1192 A. D. the Hindus were defeated, Prithvi Raj and his son were slain and henceforth Northern India passed under Mahomedan Rule. Only Rajputana and Guzerat

maintained their power for some time more. A new epoch of Indian History begins with the occupation of Delhi by the Mahomedans.

History of Bengal.—The Rajputs did not proceed towards the east. Their influence did not reach Bengal, Bihar and Nepal. When Hiuen Tsang visited India Magadha was in a decaying state. There were two kingdoms in Eastern Bihar, *viz.*, Hiranya Parvat (modern Monghyr) and Anga with its capital Champa (near Bhagalpur). Bengal consisted of five kingdoms:

1. Paundra Vardhan including modern Malda, Raj shahi, Dinajpur and other northern districts.

2. Kamrup—It extended from the Karatoa to Sylhet, including Manipur, Jaintia, Cachar, Western Assam, and parts of Mymensing. Its ancient capital was called Pragjyotish.

3. Samatata—The Lower Bengal including the Delta.

4. Tamralipti on the western side of the Rupnarayan river.

5. Karna-Subarna—Central Bengal including Murshidabad, Pabna and other districts.

Harsha Vardhan extended his control over these kingdoms, but he could not reduce them altogether. Kamrup remained independent, and it is now included in Assam. The history of these kingdoms however is obscure. **Adisura,** a Raja of Gaur, brought five Brahmans and five Kayasthas from Kanouj in order to revive orthodox Hinduism in about 700 A. D. These Brahmans and Kayasthas are supposed to be the ancestors of higher sections of these castes.

Pala Kings.—The real history of Bengal begins with the Pala Kings. The people of Bengal elected **Gopala,** a chieftain belonging to the Sagara Vams, as their king in

about 750 A. D. He consolidated the kingdom of Bengal, and evolved good government out of a state of anarchy. Magadha was also brought under his rule. He established a Buddhist monastery at Udandapura or modern town of Bihar, the headquarters of a sub-division of the same name in Patna district. The kingdom of Bengal then extended from Bihar to the borders of Assam. Gopala reigned for about forty-five years.

The second king **Dharmapala** was still more powerful than his father. He became the arbiter of the kings of Northern India. He deposed Indrayudha from the throne of Kanouj and appointed Chakrayudha in his place with the acquiescence of the nine neighbouring kings in about 810 A. D. From the incident it is believed that his influence extended upto Gandhara. He was a zealous Buddhist, and established the famous monastery at Vikramsila which is identified with Patharghata in the Bhagalpur district.

The third king **Devapala** is considered to have been the most powerful of the Pala kings. His general Lausena conquered Assam and Kalinga and added them to his territories. He reigned for about forty-eight years.

Bengal lost her position as an important kingdom of Northern India during the tenth century. A hill-tribe known as the Kambojas entered the province, and set up one of their chiefs as king of Bengal in 960 A. D. The ninth king of the Pala dynasty, **Mahipala I**, expelled the Kambojas in about 978 A. D. and regained his ancestral dominions. He is remembered by the people of Bengal as the saviour of their country. His fame is still in the mouth of the people from Orissa to Cooch-Behar. Some Buddhist missionaries were sent

by him to Tibet in 1013 A. D. to revive Buddhism in that country. He enjoyed a long reign of forty-eight years. In 1023 A. D. he was attacked by Rajendra Chola, the king of Kanchi, who advanced as far as the banks of the Ganges. Another Buddhist Mission under the leadership of Atisa went from the monastery of Vikramsila during the reign of Nyayapala in about 1040 A. D. The government of Palas fell into feeble hands after the death of Mahipala II. The king was killed and the rebel leader of the Kaivartas usurped the throne. But Prince Rampala regained the throne with the help of the Rashtra-kutas and other neighbouring states. Rampala conquered Mithila (North Behar) and maintained his power over Bengal and Assam. He was followed by five other kings of his family. When the Mahomedans invaded Magadha in 1197 A. D. its ruler was a Pala king named Indradumnapala.

The Pala kings ruled over Bengal for four centuries and a half. No other dynasty in India endured such a long period except the Andhras. The Palas greatly increased the political importance of the Eastern provinces. It was no mean achievement for a king of Bengal to become the arbiter of the states of Northern India. The influence of Bengal extended upto the frontier on the North-West. Bengal and Bihar advanced in all departments of life during these long years of good government. The Pala kings supported Buddhism when it decayed in other parts of India. They maintained Nalanda and Vikramsila, which were the most important Universities of those days, and sent missionaries of culture beyond their own territories. No buildings of the period have survived but there are many other remains such as large tanks and fine sculp-

tures as witnesses of the progress of civilization. Northern Bengal, specially Dinajpur, abounds with many such remains. Dhiman and Bitpala were the two most famous artists of the day. The Buddhist monasteries were destroyed by the Mahomedan conquerors and the Buddhist monks slain. The civilization of Bengal however was not altogether lost. The Mahomedan governors in later ages were greatly influenced by it, and Bengal maintained its special features even under these foreign rulers.

The Sen kings.—During the Kaivarta rebellion in 1080 A. D. Choraganga, the king of Kalinga,inv aded Orissa. His general Samantadeva settled in Kasipuri, modern Kasiari in the Mayurbharj state. His son Hemanta Sen was the founder of a new dynasty. Vijay Sen, the son of Hemanta Sen, became independent and conquered parts of Bengal from the Pala kings in about 1119 A.D. Vijay Sen thus carved out a kingdom for himself, and reigned for about forty years (1119-58 A. D.) His son **Ballal Sen** is the reputed founder of "Kulinism." He not only established his power over Lower Bengal, but is supposed to have conquered Northern Bengal from the Pala kings with the help of the Kaivartas. He tried to restore the position of the Brahmans throughout Bengal and also sent missionaries of the Brahmanic supremacy to the bordering countries of Magadha, Nepal, Orissa, Assam and Arakan. The last king of the Sen dynasty was Lakshan Sen who was overthrown by the Mahomedans in 1199 A. D. Navadwip was the capital of Bengal before the Mahomedan conquest. With the fall of Bengal the subjugation of Northern India was complete.

Social changes in the Middle Ages—During the long

years of Rajput ascendancy in Northern India society underwent great changes. The Brahmans became the chief advisers of the Rajput chiefs. The non-Aryan settlers of India and the aborigines were absorbed in the Hindu society. A new type of Hinduism arose in this state of assimilation and absorption, which was distinct from the Vedic society. The Buddhism was superseded by a polytheistic creed which included in the Hindu Pantheon a large number of deities, worshipped by the aborigines. Krishna and Siva came to occupy the most prominent places. The Brahmans were merely priests in the Vedic period, but they now claimed divine origin and were worshipped along with the gods. Pilgrimages to the sacred places became an act of religious merit. The two Hindu epics *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*, and the *Puranas* were held in greatest veneration, and they practically became the text-books of the new religion. The caste system was re-adjusted and the various mixed populations were assigned their places in society according to occupation and origin. The buildings of the period were more substantial than in the previous periods. Stone was used in temples of which a large number still exist in Central India. Magnificent stone temples with fine workmanship in such places as Delhi, Ajmer, Kanouj, Benares, Jaunpur and other places have been converted into Mosques, but we form some idea of the grandeur of architecture from the ruins at Mount Abu, Chandravati, Barolli and Khajuraho. The strong forts of Rajputana were built in this period.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE KINGDOMS OF SOUTHERN INDIA.

The country south of the Vindhyas and the Narmada has a history altogether separate from that of the north. The Aryans migrated into the south long after they had settled in the north. Rishi Agastya is considered to be the first missionary of Aryan culture in the south. The Vindhyas and the forests stood as impenetrable barriers which were crossed by the seventh century B. C. but Aryanisation of the south made rapid progress when Northern India was invaded by alien races. The onrush of the Greeks and the Scythians did not affect the south very much. So we find that when the culture of Aryavarta was being transformed by its contact with the different peoples the Indo-Aryan polity was taking its shape and form in the south. Buddhism and Jainism made their way into the south during the reign of Asoka, but it seems they did not succeed in welding together the Dravidians and the Aryans into one broad nation. The Aryan arrogance raised its head and kept the colours distinct and separate. The old inhabitants of the country were treated as barbarians, and those who submitted to them were received as Sudras: In no other part of India the gulf between the Brahmans and the non-Brahmans is so deep as in the south. The Aryan settlers could not escape the influence of the Dravidians but as they were more intelligent and more powerful they imposed their manners and customs upon the indigenous population. And when Northern India lost

its ancient culture the south came to teach it and to restore it to its old glory. Sankaracharya and Ramanuja of Southern India fired their fatal shots at the philosophy of Buddhism and their *Ashrams* even now are considered as the most powerful centres of orthodox Hinduism. The south has not been able to influence much the political history of India, but its influence in other matters has been very considerable. Hindu philosophy has been reinterpreted and Hindu architecture has given an expression there which has been taken up by other parts. The stone temples of Southern India probably suggested to the architects of Central India to employ stone in the construction of their temple and forts. The ancient history of Dravida lies buried in oblivion but there is ample evidence to prove that the south possessed a civilization which was not in any way inferior to that of the north. The political life of the people in the seventh and eighth centuries was as strong and progressive as of any other people in the world at that time.

There was brisk trade from the ports of Southern India with the Western countries in the first and second centuries A. D. The names of these ports are found in the pages of the *Periplus* and the Geography of Ptolemy.

The Southern India is not one big whole. It is inhabited by a number of peoples, and there were many kingdoms and each kingdom was ruled by several dynasties. In the time of Asoka we came across the names of the Pandyas, the Keralas, the Pitenikas, and the Rastriyas. There was another powerful tribe called the Andhras who acquired ascendancy shortly afterwards. Samudra Gupta met with more than a

dozen kings of the south. Hiuen Tsang visited the kingdoms of Kalinga, South Kosala, Andhra, Dhana Kataka, Chola, Dravida, Mulakuta (Madura), Konkan, and Maharashtra. The kings of these different states fought against each other, and only a few succeeded in obtaining a predominant position. Kalinga was the first Aryan settlement in the south on account of its close proximity with Northern India. The Andhras expanded their powers from Kalinga. The political importance then passed on to Maharashtra and the Chola country. The country south of the Vindhayas may be divided into three main groups, *viz.*, the Deccan or Maharashtra, Telingana and the Coromandel coast, and the South proper on the other side of the Krishna and the Tungbhadra. The western coast of the South has a distinct history. People in those parts speak Kanarese. Tamil is the principal language of the country south of Madras, and Telegu to its north. Marathi is the language of Maharashtra.

The Early Chalukyas.—When Harshavardana of Kanouj was consolidating Northern India Maharashtra was under the government of the Chalukyas. They are believed to have migrated from Ajodhya. The founder of the dynasty was Jaysimha who defeated the Rashtrakutas and became their king. His grandson **Pulakesi** I (550 to 567 A. D.) extended his powers still further He performed the Aswamedha sacrifice in order to announce his supreme position in the South. He established his capital at Vatapipura, modern Badami in the Kaladgi district. His son **Kirtivarman** (567-591 A. D.) conquered parts of the Konkan and Kanara. The next king was **Mangalisa,** brother of Kirtivarman. He reigned from 591 to 610 A. D. He defeated the

Kalachuris of Chedi near modern Jabbalpur and extended his dominions from the Arabian Sea to the Bay of Bengal. He was overthrown by his nephew **Pulakesi** II, son of Kirtivarman, when he tried to put his own son on the throne.

Pulakesi II.—Pulakesi II was a young man of remarkable powers. He occupied the throne after overthrowing his uncle. He raised the Chalukya Power to great eminence by his conquests. He subjugated the kingdom of the Kadambas of Banavasi, the Gangas of Chera, and the Moris or the Mauryas of the Konkan. The kings of Lata or Southern Guzerat, Gurjara or Northern Guzerat, and Malwa were made to pay him allegiance, when he attacked the western coast with a fleet of hundred ships. In the east he conquered Vengi between the Krishna and Godavari, and appointed his brother Kubja Vishnuvardhana as Viceroy with his capital at Pistapura, modern Pithapuram in the Godavari District. This Prince became independent a few years later and founded the line of the Eastern Chalukyas which continued in power till it was absorbed into the Chola dynasty in 1070 A. D.

In 620 A. D. Harshavardhana tried to conquer the South. But Pulakesi offered stout resistance, and made him recognise the Narmada as the boundary between the two kingdoms. This was a great achievement for a Southern king. Later on Pulakesi invaded Kanchi, and the countries of the Cholas, the Pandyas and the Keralas in the south, and entered into an alliance with those kingdoms. His career of conquest closed before 634 A. D. He sent an embassy to the Court of Khusru II, king of Persia, in 625-6 A. D. and the king sent one in return out of respect for the king of the

Deccan. The incident has a pictorial representation in the Caves of Ajanta.

The Chinese Pilgrim Hiuen Tsang visited the Chalukya kingdom in 641 A. D. The capital was then removed from Vatapipur to Nasik. He was impressed by the military power of Pulakesi who had a great hold upon his people. Hiuen Tsang gives the following description about the people : "They are tall, haughty and supercilious in character. Whoever does them a service may count on their gratitude, but he that offends them will not escape their revenge. If any one insults them, they will risk their lives to wipe out the affront. If any one apply to them in difficulty, they will forget to care for themselves in order to flee to his assistance. When they have an injury to avenge, they never fail to give warning to their enemy, after which each closes his cuirass and grasps his spear in his hand. In battle they pursue the fugitives, but do not slay those who give themselves up. When a general has lost a battle, instead of punishing him corporally, they make him wear women's clothes, and by that force him to sacrifice his own life."

Hiuen Tsang visited the caves of Ajanta. He says the monastery was built by a Buddhist monk called Achala. It was hundred feet high and there was an image of Buddha seventy feet tall, and on the walls of the monastery he saw beautiful fresco paintings representing various incidents in the life of Buddha. These frescoes are of the highest value, as a land-mark in the history of art.

Close of the Early Chalukya Rule.—Shortly after the visit of Hiuen Tsang the Pallava king Narsimha-Varman invaded the Chalukya kingdom in about 642

A. D. Pulakesi suffered a great defeat. The capital was captured, and probably he was put to death. For thirteen years the Chalukyas were overshadowed by the Pallavas who had then their capital at Kanchi. His son Vikramaditya succeeded in re-conquering the kingdom but the struggle between the two powers continued for about a century. By the middle of the eighth century the old Rashtrakutas gathered forces under their leader Dantidurga, who defeated Kirtivarman II, the last of the Early Chalukya kings. The sovereignty of the Deccan now passed into the hands of the Rashtrakutas who maintained it for about two centuries and a quarter from 748 to 973 A. D.

State of the country under the Chalukyas.—The reign of the Chalukyas was a period of great prosperity. The people were vigorous and all their institutions were marked by a stamp of genuine patriotism. The description of the people as given by Hiuen Tsang bears testimony to their nobility of sentiment. The religious views of the people were undergoing great changes. Although Buddhism counted a large number of adherents it was on the decline. Jainism and Hinduism on the other hand were growing in popularity. Brahmanism obtained a strong hold upon the people. Temples were built to the Puranic gods such as Brahma, Vishnu and Maheswara. Hindus also excavated temples out of rocks like the Buddhists and the Jains. One of the earliest cave-temples in honour of Hindu gods is that of Vishnu cut by Mangalisa at Badami by the end of the sixth century. The frescoes at Ajanta are the finest representation of the artistic genius of the people. The kings extended their patronage to all religions, although they were identified with Hinduism.

The Rashtra-Kutas.—The Rashtra-Kutas were the original inhabitants of the Deccan. They are referred to in the Edicts of Asoka as the Rastikas. Pratisthana or Paithan was their old capital. The Andhras and the Chalukyas kept them under subjection for about a thousand years. There were however Rashtra-Kuta chiefs who served under the Chalukyas. One such Rashtra-kuta chief named Indra married a Chalukya princess. The offspring of this marriage was Dantidurga who rebelled against Kirtivarman II. He occupied Badami and founded the Rashtra-kuta line of kings. He was not however very popular, and was deposed by his uncle Krishna I. A branch of the family also obtained power in Guzerat. It was during the reign of Krishna I that the Kailas temple at Ellora (within the dominions of the Nizam) was carved out of the rocks. It is the most extensive and sumptuous of the rock-cut shrines, says Vincent A. Smith.

Krishna I was succeeded by a number of powerful rulers. They extended their dominions in all directions. First they made Nasik their capital, and next Nripatunga. One of the rulers founded the city of Manyakheta, identified with Malkhed in the Nizam's dominions, and removed the capital there. Govinda III was the most remarkable of the Rashtra-kuta kings. "He appears to have become," says Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, "the paramount sovereign of the whole country from Malwa in the north to Kanchipura in the south, and have under his immediate sway the country between the Narmada and the Tungbhadra." His son Amoghvarsha reigned for sixty two years. He was the greatest patron of the Digambara Jains. It is believed that it was on account of his efforts to propagate

Jainism that Buddhism rapidly declined in the south. His long reign was disturbed by constant wars with the Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi. Indra III (914-16 A. D.) carried his arms upto Kanouj and struck a heavy blow at the power of Mahipala, the king of Panchala. Surashtra and other provinces of Kanouj in the west were annexed by the Rashtra-kuta king. Some of the later kings were corrupt and licentious, so they could not maintain their position. The last Rashtra-kuta king Kakka was defeated in battle by Tailapa II of the old Chalukya race in 973 A. D. The Rashtra-kuta dynasty came to an end after the reign of two centuries and a quarter. They acquired extensive dominions, and were in friendly relations with the Moslem rulers of Sindh, with a view to crush the Gurjara king of North Guzerat and Rajputana. The Mahomedan merchants and adventurers visited Western India during the continuance of this friendship. They considered the "Balhara" or the Rashtra-kuta king as the greatest sovereign in India. The Rashtra-kuta kings were patrons of learning. Sanskrit literature got an impetus during their reign. Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar thus describes the civilization of the times: "That the princes of this race were very powerful there can be little doubt. The rock-cut temples at Ellora still attest their power and magnificence. Under them the worship of the Puranic gods received much greater importance than before. The days when kings and princes got temples and monasteries cut out of the solid rocks for the use of the followers of Gautam Buddha had gone by, never to return. Instead of them we have during this period temples excavated or constructed on a more magnificent scale and dedicated to

the worship of Siva and Vishnu. Several of the grants of these Rashtra-kuta princes praise their country and maintain their having constructed temples. Still as Kanheri inscriptions of the reign of Amoghavarsha I. show Buddhism had its votaries and benefactors, though the religion had evidently sunk into un-importance. Jainism, on the other hand, retained the prominence it had acquired during the Chalukya period, or even made greater progress. Amoghavarsha was perhaps a convert to it, and some of the minor chiefs and the lower castes, especially the traders, were its devoted adherents. The form of the Jainism that prevailed in the country was mostly that professed by the Digambara sects. A good many of the extant Digambara works were, as we have seen, composed during this period."

The Eastern Chalukyas (973 to 1189 A. D.).—When the Chalukyas were driven out of power from the Deccan they retained some of their dominions in Telingana and the Eastern provinces. Vengi was their capital. **Tailapa** II restored the Chalukyas to power by overthrowing the Rashtra-kuta king Kakka II in 973 A. D. He strengthened his position by marrying a daughter of the late king of the Rashtra-kutas. He recovered all the old territories of his race except Guzerat. Besides consolidating his power in Maharashtra he had to fight against the Cholas in the South, and to ward off danger from Guzerat in the north. His chief opponent was Munja, the king of Dhara, and uncle of the celebrated Bhoja. Munja is credited with victory in six successive expeditions against Tailapa, but when he crossed the Godavari he became a prisoner, and on trying to escape was beheaded. Tailapa reigned for twenty-four years, and was succeeded by his son

Satyasraya. During the short reign of Satyasraya the Maharashtra was overrun by the Chola king Raja-raja (1000 A. D.). The next king Vikramaditya was killed by king Bhoja of Malwa (1008 A. D.). But his brother Jaysimha succeeded in breaking up the confederacy of Malwa. His attack on the Cholas however was repulsed. Jaysimha died in 1040 A. D. and was succeeded by his son **Someswara** or better known as Ahavamalla. Someswara made vigorous preparations against Chola aggression, and removed his capital from Yatagiri (30 miles south of Malkhed) to Kalyan, modern Kalyani in the Nizam's dominions. The removal of the capital to a central place had its effect. The Cholas were defeated at the battle of Koppam (1052 A. D.), and lost the provinces of Banavasi and Gangavadi. The Chola king Rajadhiraja was slain in battle. Someswara carried his arms from Dhara in Malwa to Kanchi in the south and also defeated the king of Chedi. He had three sons. Vikramaditya the second was the ablest of all. In 1068 A. D. Someswara died by drowning himself in the Tungbhadra while fighting against the Cholas. He was succeeded by his eldest son Someswara II. Someswara II and Vikramaditya were on good terms for some time. But as Someswara was weak and tyrannical the subordinate chiefs invited Vikramaditya to rebellion. In 1076 A. D. Someswara II was dethroned and **Vikramaditya** became king as Tribhuvanamalla. His brother Jaysimha was appointed Viceroy of Banavasi, but he lost his authority and was made a prisoner on account of disaffection. Vikramaditya reigned for about 50 years. He was the greatest king of the Eastern Chalukyas. He captured Kanchi and was also engaged in war with the Hoysalas of Dwarasamudra. He had in his Court the

poet Bilhana who wrote the famous *Vikramanka-deva Charita*, from which most of the historical information of the period is gathered. The celebrated jurist Vijnaneshwar, the author of the *Mitakshara*, an important book on Hindu Law outside Bengal, lived in his Court at Kalyani.

The next in succession was **Someswara** III. He was a scholar, and wrote a marvellous book entitled *Abhilashitartha Chintamani*, dealing with polity, astronomy, astrology, dialectics, rhetoric, poetry, music, painting, architecture, medicine, training of horses, elephants, dogs etc. He received the title *Sarvajna Bhupa* on account of his vast learning. He died in 1138 A. D. and after his death the power of the Chalukyas rapidly declined. A dependent Kalachuri chief named Vijjala (1156—67 A. D.) who was the Commander-in-chief of Tailapa III usurped the throne. But he could not long continue in power. A new sect called the Lingayets rose in rebellion under their leader, Vasava. Vijjala was a Jain, and persecuted the Lingayets who were worshippers of Siva. Two holy men of the sect were blinded. So they assassinated Vijjala in 1067 A. D. Henceforth the cult of Siva made rapid progress, and the new sect secured a large number of adherents among the trading classes. Buddhism which was already on the decline received a further blow at the rise of this new sect. The successors of Vijjala could not restore their position. In this state of confusion, the Chalukya prince Someswara IV managed to recover part of their dominions and established himself at Annigeri, with the help of Boma, a feudatory chief (1183 A. D.) He could not however retain his hold over his territories. The Yadavas of Devagiri on the west and the Hoysalas of Dwara

Samudra on the south began to encroach upon the Chalukya kingdom. Someswara could not long withstand the attacks of these neighbouring powers and in about 1190 A. D. the Chalukya dynasty ceased to rule. They never again rose into power. The Maratha families of the name of Chalke in the Sangameshwar Taluka and its neighbourhood still bear the old name.

The Yadavas.—The two dynasties which came into prominence on the downfall of the Chalukyas were the Hoysalas of Dwara-Samudra and the Yadavas of Devagiri. The Hoysalas were at first under the Cholas. But Ereyanga Hoysala who was governor of Gangavadi went over to the side of the Chalukya king Vikramaditya. The Hoysalas henceforth grew into power. By 1130 A. D. they became masters of modern Mysore and of Hangal and Lokshmeshwar in the Dharwar district.

Seuna Chandra Yadava was a governor of Seunadesa between Devagiri and Nasik, under Vikramaditya II His successors were all faithful to the Chalukyas. But when the revolution took place in 1189 A. D Bir Ballal, chief of the Hoysalas, and Bhillama, chief of the Yadavas declared themselves independent. Devagiri became the capital of the Yadavas.

The Yadavas and the Hoysalas were rival tribes for supremacy in the Deccan. In the beginning the Hoysalas held the better position. But Yadavas became supreme by 1210 A. D. Their king Singhna invaded Malwa and Guzerat and conquered the Lower Konkan and the South Maratha country from the Hoysalas. He reigned till 1247 A. D. His grandson Krishna II was also a strong king. He was succeeded by his brother Mahadeva in 1260 A. D. On his death in 1271 A. D. his nephew Ramdeva became the king.

He was the last of the great Yadava rulers to govern Maharashtra independently. He was a wise ruler and the people were happy under him. The celebrated scholar Hemadpant or Hemadri was his Chief Secretary, *Srikaranadhipa*. His book called *Vratakhanda* gives a valuable account of the dynasty. The *Chaturvarga Chintamani* is an exposition of the religious doctrines of the Hindus. The Grammarian Bopdev was also a contemporary of Hemadri, in the Court of Ramdeva. Hemadri is said to have introduced the Modi or current from of writing in Marathi. The Maratha saint Jnandev, authur of a commentary of the *Bhagabatgita* in Marathi, flourished during the reign of Ramdeva.

The first independent prince of the Hoysala dynasty was Bittideva or Bittiga. He established his capital at Dwarasamudra, modern Halebid. He was a Jain but became a worshipper of Vishnu under the influence of Ramanuja. He defeated the kings of the Chola, Pandya and Chera kingdoms in the south. His grandson Vir Ballala extended his dominions in the north and defeated the Yadavas of Devagiri in 1191 A. D.

Ala-ud-din Khilji invaded Devagiri in 1294 A. D. Henceforth the Yadavas became his vassals. In 1318 A. D. their kingdom was annexed. The Hoysalas were also conquered by Ala-ud-din's general Malik Kafur in 1310 A. D. and the kingdon was finally destroyed in 1326 or 1327 A. D.

The Three Dravidan kingdoms.—The Pandya, Chola and Chera or Kerala were the three important kingdoms existing before the days of Asoka. The Pandya kingdom was in the extreme south, from the southern Vellaru river (Pudu-kottai) to the Cape Comorin, and was co-extensive with the modern districts of

Madura and Tinnevelly. The Chola kingdom was to its north, from the Southern Vellaru to the Pennair. It included Madras and some more districts of the east and parts of the Mysore state. When Hiuen Tsang visited the country it was a small kingdom covering the area of the Cuddapah District. Chola-mandalam or the Coromandel coast was then ruled by the Pallavas, with Kanchi as their capital. Chera or Kerala was the name of the Malabar coast including the present Malabar District, Travancore, and Cochin. The boundaries of these kingdoms changed from time to time.

It is not possible to write a full history of these Dravidian kingdoms. The ports of the south carried on brisk trade with the Western countries. The Dravidians visited Babylonia and Persia. It is believed that the Semitic Alphabet of Mesopotamia was brought into India by the Dravidians and then many of its letters have been adopted in some provinces. On account of their trade with Babylonia they came into contact with the Greeks and Romans and also with the Chinese of the east.

The southern states were constantly at war with each other. Each one tried to assume supremacy in the south. They also carried their arms into Ceylon in the third century B. C., and established settlements there. But in the second entury A. D. the Ceylonese replied by the counter-invasion of the Tamil countries. In the first century A. D. another tribe from the north known as the Pallavas conquered some territory from the Tamil states. They extended their power from Kanchi on all sides.

Tamil civilization.—The Dravidians possess a very ancient civilzation. Their literature is rich and dignified.

It attained its glory before the birth of Christ. Of all the vernaculars of India it is therefore the oldest. The Dravidians made great progress in agriculture and industries. They had irrigation channels and other methods of improving agriculture. They were skilled architects and erected large buildings and grand temples. It was in the south that stone was first used for buildings. The rockcut temples and monasteries were seen in the south earlier than in the north. The peole were Hindus, and Buddhism and Jainism also became very popular with them.

The Pallavas.—The origin of the Pallavas is shrouded in maystery. They were probably connected with a pastoral people called the Kurumbas. They appear in history in the second century A. D. by conquering the country between the Krishna and the Kaveri. A Pallava king named Sivaskanda-varman celebrated the Aswamedha sacrifice in about 150 A. D. which indicates that he had already acquired some supremacy over the south. In the time of Samudra Gupta in the fourth century they were a powerful people. From the middle of the sixth century to the middle of the eighth they held the most important position south of the Tungbhadra, and all parts became their subordinates. Towards the close of the sixth century Simhavishnu Pallava defeated the Pandya, Chola and Chera kings, as well as the king of Ceylon. Their kingdom comprised the districts of North Arcot, South Arcot, Chingleput or Madras, Trichinopoly and Tanjore; and they extended their powers up to the borders of Orissa in the north, and to the Pennair river in the south, the Bay of Bengal on the east, and the Bangalore and Berar on the west. In the sixth century they came in conflict

with the Chalukyas who obtained Batapi from them. The Chalukya king Pulakesi II defeated the Pallava Mahendravarman I and annexed the province of Vengi between the Krishna and the Godavari in about 610 A. D. Although the Pallavas could never recover that province their power and influence did not wane on that account. The next Pallava king Narasimha Varman (625-45 A. D.) defeated Pulakesi II in 642 A. D. and occupied Badami. He thus restored the glory of the Pallava kingdom which for the time became the most powerful of the southern states. The Chinese pilgrim visited Kanchi in 640 A. D. He mentions it as the capital of Dravida. He collected information regarding other states in the far south from that place. The pilgrim admired the courage, trust-worthiness, public spirit and love of learning of the people. There were a hundred Buddhist monasteries and a similar number of Jain temples in Dravida. The monasteries were occupied by about ten thousand monks. The town of Mamalla-puram or Mahabalipuram was founded by Narasimhavarman. It was in his time that Rathas or 'Seven Pagodas' were carved out of the rocks. The artists also executed relief sculptures in the rocks with great effect. The Pallava kings continued their patronage to the artists till they lost their supremacy by Chalukya attacks in 670 A. D. The Chalukyas however were superseded by the Rashtrakutas. The Pallavas maintaihed their position for some time. But at the close of the ninth century the Cholas in alliance with the Pandyas crushed the Pallavas for ever. They remained as local rulers down to the thirteenth century and no trace of the Pallavas as a race could be found after the seventeenth century.

The earliest Pallava king was probably a Buddhist, but the later kings were Hindus worshipping the popular gods Vishnu and Siva. A religious revival took place in the south during the fifth century as a result of which both Buddhism and Jainism received a set back. But the two creeds had a large number of votaries even down to the time of Hiuen Tsang. The Tamil literature was greatly enriched by religious hymns of great piety.

The Cholas—The Cholas had an independent kingdom in the time of Asoka. The Pennair river was then its northern boundary. The ports of the Chola country had active commerce with both the West and the East. The Chola fleets not only passed along the coast but crossed the Bay of Bengal and the Indian Ocean, visiting the mouths of the Ganges and the Irrawaddy and the islands of the Malay Archipelago. Goods from the west also came into the country through the ports of the Malabar coast, while cotton goods and other commodities of the country were imported into those ports for foreign markets. The oldest capital of the Cholas was Uraiyur. The first-known king Karikal established the town of Kaviripaddinam at the northern mouth of the Cauvery, and transferred his capital there. This new town became a very important port. In the reign of his grandson Nedumudi Killi the town was washed away by the sea. Karikal lived towards the close of the first century or in the second century A. D. With the rise of the Pallavas the Cholas sank into insignificance. When Hiuen Tsang visited Kanchi the Chola kingdom was only 400 or 500 miles in circuit, and the country was deserted, having only a scanty population of ferocious habits. The king was then a subordinate

of the Pallava kings. When the Pallavas were crushed by the Chalukyas in the eighth century the Cholas recovered their position. A Chola king named Aditya who reigned from 880 to 907 A. D. defeated Aparajita Pallava and destroyed the Pallava supremacy.

The history of the Cholas from 907 A. D. is based upon reliable materials. Copious inscriptions of the Chola kings have been thoroughly studied and chronologically arranged. **Parantaka** I, the son of Aditya, reigned for forty-two years from 907 A. D. to 949 A. D. He invaded the Pandya territory, and drove its king into exile. He also invaded Ceylon. His son Rajaditya was engaged in the war with the Rashtrakutas and was killed in action. The Rashtrakutas over-ran the country as far as Tanjore. But when the Rashtrakutas were overthrown the Cholas again rose into prominence. **Raja** who ascended the throne in 985 A. D. raised the Chola state to the position of a leading power in the south. He made extensive conquests on all sides. The Chera fleet was first destroyed, and then he conquered Vengi, the Pandya territory and parts of the Deccan. Next he added Quilon on the Malabar coast, and Kalinga to his dominions. In the twentieth year of his reign he annexed Ceylon after long and protracted wars. The rest of his life he devoted to the development of his kingdom by peaceful means. The Chalukyas once again tried to encroach upon the Chola territory. They were however defeated after four years war. He acquired the Maldives and the Laccadives with the help of his fleet. His son Rajendra was associated with him in the administration of the kingdom towards the end of his life. The temple at Tanjore stands even now as a monument of his great achievements.

He died in 1017 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Rajendra.

Rajendra Choladeva A. D. 1007—1042 still further extended the dominions of the Cholas. His fleet crossed the Bay of Bengal, captured the capital of Pegu and also the sea ports of Tukkolam and Martaban. On the fall of these cities the kingdom of Pegu was conquered (1025-27 A. D). Next he conquered the island of Nicobar and the Andamans. In the main land he subjugated the Gangas of Mysore and the Chalukyas of the Deccan. He also proceeded further up, defeated Mahipala, the king of Bengal in 1023 A. D. in commemoration of which event he assumed the title of Gangaikonda, and built a new city called Gangaikonda-Cholapuram. A big artificial lake with an embankment 16 miles long was constructed near the city to help irrigation. The city was also beautified by the erection of a magnificent temple in honour of Siva.

After his death the Chola kingdom passed through a crisis. The Pandyas, the Cheras and the Gangas revolted. In less than twenty-eight years there were five kings on the throne of the Cholas. The Chalukyas renewed war with the Cholas. The Chola king Rajadhiraja was killed at the battle of Koppam in 1052 A. D. But in 1062-63 the Chalukyas suffered a terrible defeat at the battle of Kudal Sangamam, at the junction of the Krishna and the Tungabhadra. Later on there was a dispute over the Chalukya throne between the two brothers Someswara II and Vikramaditya. The Chola king Vir Kajendra took up the side of Vikramaditya and gave his daughter in marriage to him. Vir Rajendra died in 1070 A. D. and was succeeded by his son Adhirajendra, who was very unpopular and was murdered in 1074 A. D.

Chalukya-Chola dynasty.—After his death the crown passed to a relative as he had no heir in the direct line. Rajendra, a son of the Eastern Chalukya prince of Vengi, claimed the throne as the son of a daughter of Gangaikonda Chola. He was in the Chola court for many years and became the lord of Vengi in 1070 A. D. On the death of Adhirajendra he became the king of both Chola and Vengi and founded a new dynasty called Chalukya-Chola dynasty, and assumed the title of **Kulotunga Chola.**. He was a distinguished soldier. Within a very short time he conquered Kalinga, the Ganga and Pandya territories and part of Travancore. He was also an able administrator. In 1086 A. D. he thoroughly revised the system of revenue survey. Ramanuja, the great expounder of qualified Monism, received his education at Kanchi and lived at Srirangam near Trichinopoly. But during the reign of Adhirajendra he retired into Mysore as the king was a Saiva and was hostile to Vaishnavism. But he returned to Sri rangam during the reign of Kulottunga. The king maintained peace and prosperity in the country. He promoted learning, and patronised both Telugu and Tamil literature. He abolished the tolls on travellers and merchants when passing from one district to another. He reigned 49 years, and was succeeded by his son in 1117 A. D.

Fall of the Chola Dynasty.—The Cholas were driven out of Mysore by the Hoysalas in 1117 A. D. They became independent in about 1173 A. D. About that time the Ceylonese invaded the Pandya territory. The Pandyas and the Cholas combined succeeded in repelling the invaders. But thePandyas invaded the Chola country in the beginning of the thirtunth century. The invasion of Malik Kafur in 1310 A. D. destroyed all the Hindu states of the South.

Chola administration.—The system of administration under the Cholas was fully organised. The inscriptions of Parantaka I and other kings give a full account of the system which seems to be a continuation of the old institutions. The kingdom was divided into six provinces (*mandala*). Each province was divided into a number of divisions (*kottam*). Several districts (*Nadu*) formed a division. There was a Viceroy in each province, who was either a local Raja or a member of the royal family. The Viceroys were assisted by a comptent staff of officials. The records were very carefully kept.

Administration of the country however stood entirely on a perfect system of village-government. A number of villages were grouped into a union or *Kurram*. Each *Kurram* had an assembly (*Mahasabha*) to manage its affairs under the directions of an *adhikarin*. The members of the assembly were selected by lots and held office for one year. The assembly looked after all affairs concerning the villages, including administration of criminal justice. There were separate committees for the management of different departments, such as tanks, gardens, justice, etc. Each union had its own treasury. The village lands were entirely under its control, and it could sell them whenever necessary.

The state had claim upon one-sixth of the total produce of land. Revenue was also derived from other sources such as license taxes, duties on commerce, tools, the salt tax, water-cesses, and fines. Land was regularly surveyed by a standard measure. The village was assessed as a whole. The village assembly could sell the land of the defaulters in order to realise the arrears. In cases of scarcity the people often claimed remissions. Payment was made either in gold or in

kind. The unit of the currency was a gold coin called *Kasu* weighing about 28 grains Troy.

The state constructed large irrigation channels and maintained good roads. Artificial lakes, sometimes of very big size were dug to serve as reservoir of water for watering lands. The rivers were sometimes dammed by means of anicuts. The magnificent temples still extant give an idea of the skill which the people possessed in erecting buildings. There is a single block of stone measuring 25½ feet square, weighing 80 tons which forms the summit of the steeple of the Tanjore temple. It was brought into position along an incline of four miles.

There was a standing army and a big navy. But the details of the military organisation are not available. The officers were paid either in cash or they were assigned lands in lieu of their pay.

Chola Art.—The architecture and sculpture of the Chola country were purely indigenous. The craftsmen of the Pallava period handed down their skill to the later generations. No violent break is traceable between the two stages. They executed their workmanship upon huge rocks for carving out temples and sculptures. In the early Chola period the towers of the temples were very imposing, but later on more skill was spent upon the outer walls or the *Gopurams*. The architecture of the Cholas was carried to Ceylon and to distant Java.

The Pandyas.—The Pandyas and the Cheras did not rise to the same position as the Pallavas or the Cholas. The Pandya kingdom in the early ages was divided into five principalities. In the days of Pliny Madura was its capital. According to the local traditions its ancient chief port Karkai on the Tamraparni was the cradle of South Indian civilization. On account of silting up of

the river the port was removed to Kayal and then long afterwards it was removed to Tuticorin by the Portugese. There was a literary academy or Sangam at Madura during the first and second centuries, and some of the finest Tamil poems were produced there. During the visit of Hiuen Tsang to Kanchi the Pandya kingdom was not very important. Buddhism was almost dead and Jainism was making some progress. The people had then reeled back into ignorance. During the eighth and ninth centuries the Pandya kings incessantly attacked the Pallavas, but they acknowledged the supremacy of the Cholas in the tenth century. They were also engaged in constant war with the kings of Ceylon. Before the invasion of Malik Kafur the Pandyas were in a better position. The Pandya king Sundara who reigned from 1251 to 1271 A. D. made himself master of the whole eastern coast from Nellore to Cape Comorin. After the invasion of Malik Kafur they were reduced to the position of local chiefs.

The Cheras.—Our information about the Cheras is still more scanty. Muziris, the modern Cranganore, and Bakaru were the two important ports in the first and second centuries A. D. The most ancient capital of the country was Vanji or Vanchi. In 990 A. D. the Chola king Raja conquered the country and added it to his dominion, and it has never again acquired independence. The present state of Travancore represents a part of the old Chera kingdom.

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The **Bombay Chronicle** of Bom...

“Books on the ancient histor... dia have been written by Indian as well as Euro... lars. Some

of them are not up to date, while others enter into details which are more useful to researchers than to students. Professor Upendra Nath Ball's compendium must therefore be welcome to university students for whom it is primarily intended, though the general reader will also be eqnally benefited thereby. It is as much a history of Indian civilisation as of political events before the eleventh century * * * * * * * We heartily commend this volume to the reader."

The **Behar Herald** of Patna :—

"Professor Ball has succeeded in his endeavour to enlighten the student on the progressive history of life and thought of the ancient Indians which he has made interesting and illuminating by many illustrations from original sources. The author has skilfully handled the abstract topics on the Vedas and the Brahmanas and has made them easy and intelligible. The book also embodies the recent important researches on Ancient Indian History and will no doubt be a useful compendium for young readers."

The **Express** of Patna:—

" Those who are interested in the education of our young men would welcome this little volume as a suitable text book for the college students. * * * * Prof. Ball of the B. N. Callege has done a great service to the cause of education by presenting a handy volume dealing with early history of India down to the Muhammadan conquest. He has spared no pains in making the book interesting. It is not merely a lucid summary of a very important portion of Indian history but a master's study of the development of social, political and economic institutions of India. We had so long to depend upon the interpreation of the European writers

on many a perplexing problem. We miss in their books a correct analysis of the Indian spirit. Professor Ball's treatment is purely scientific. He has not laid much stress upon tradition. Although he has not made any fresh discovery, we find in many places he has thrown a flood of light upon the obscure passages of history. The study of the influence of the physical features of India upon her history is thoroughly in accord with the modern historical method. * * * * * * * The author has carefully discussed the cause of prosperity and decline of the Indian States. No other book has put so much matter within such a small compass. Its value has been enhanced by the faithful interpretation of events in the Indian spirit. We find in the book accurate analysis, keen observation and proper adjustment of the valuable material of the Indian history. The book is a timely addition to the literature on Ancient India."

F. E., Pargiter, Esq., M.A., I.C.S., (Retired), Vice-President, Royal Asiatic Society :—

"You have collected your material from many sources and have drawn up your account according to the views that are generally held at present, so it should be of use to the University students for whose needs you have prepared it."

Sir Richard Temple, Bart, in the *Indian Antiquary*:—

"This is a book for the younger generation, and as such and as bringing to their notice the latest research, I am in agreement with most of the statements therein. It is to my mind a fair and well-informed summary of the historical knowledge of the day. In many ways it is of use for the purpose as a *memoria technica* even for the advanced student and teacher. * * * *

"Professor Ball teaches sound doctrine as to the relationship of the Aryan to the Dravidian civilisation, and he would do well to point out in a future edition even more forcibly how much modern India owes to the Dravidian influence even up to modern times. * * * * his chapter on the Vedic Age, and those that follow it seem to me to teach the outline of early Indian History, with accuracy and insight. * * * * *

"The strength of Professor Ball as a fair-minded historian comes out well in the latter part of his work (pp. 156-236), where he deals with comparatively more recent and most difficult times. It appears to me that he disentangles the confused history of the first eight centuries A. D., with much success, considering the extreme difficulties of the subject. He is conspicuously successful with the Kushans and shows a knowledge of the research of quite recent date, though he clearly indicates that his summary can not be held to be final. It is, nevertheless, well calculated to lead the young in the right way.

"His account of the Indian Renaissance of the 3rd to 5th centuries A. D., is good though he seems to me to attribute a rather higher character to the people than is humanly-speaking likely during the century of small local states between the Kushans and the Guptas. * *

The account of the Gupta Emperors is good and he does well to point out how great a man Samudra Gupta (c. 330-375 A. D), was in every respect. * *

"The description of these Huns is fair and well-informed, and the accounts of Toramana and Mihirakula the Hun leaders and of their opponents Pura Gupta, Baladitya and Yasodharman, are as clear as is possible at present.

"Professor Ball's account of the very confused story of the rise of Harsha's short-lived Empire is clear and useful, especially as he points out (page 188) that it was a personal rule and hence liable to a collapse when the commanding hand was withdrawn. * * *

"Professor Ball's account of the mediæval Rajput states is quite good as a well-informed summary leading students to enter on a course of useful study: * *

"Professor Ball turns lastly to Southern India and here again he is clear and well-informed in a confused subject * * * * * * * * *

"I close this review of a University Text Book which I have made long because of its importance as a source of authoritative information to the rising generation at its most impressionable age. If I have ventured on criticisms here and there it is because of a desire to help in securing accuracy in future editions of a book conceived on the right lines."

The End.

